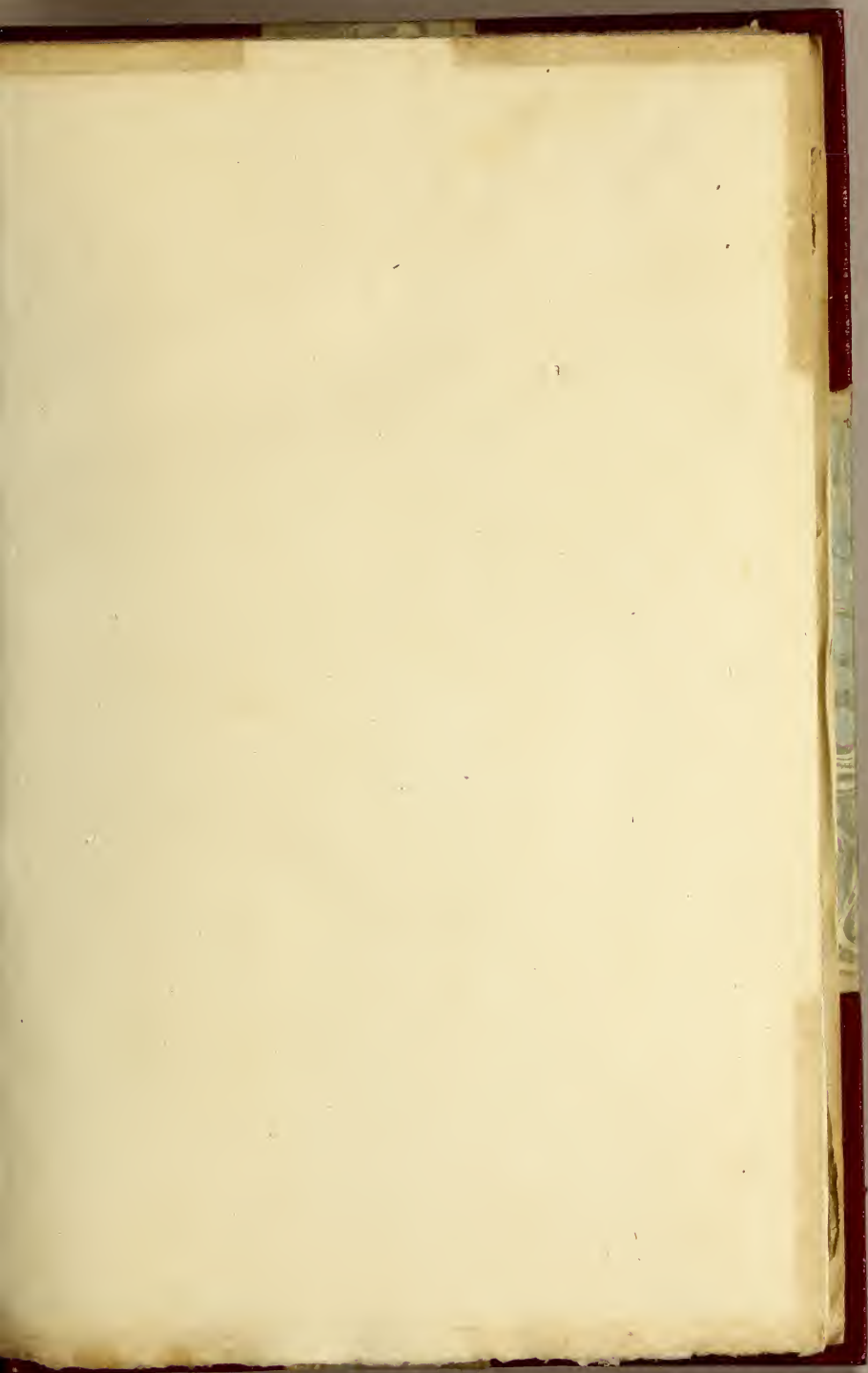
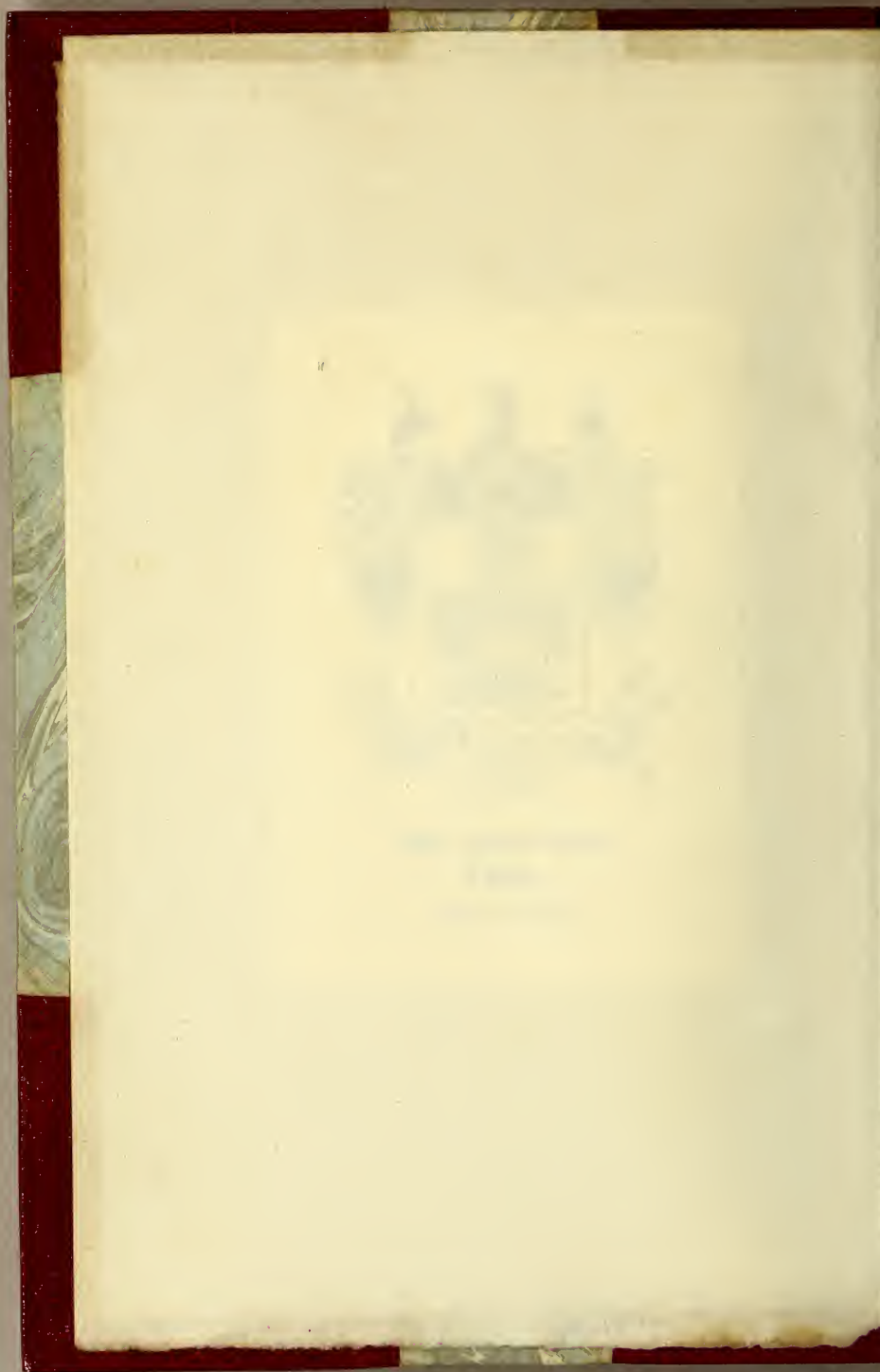
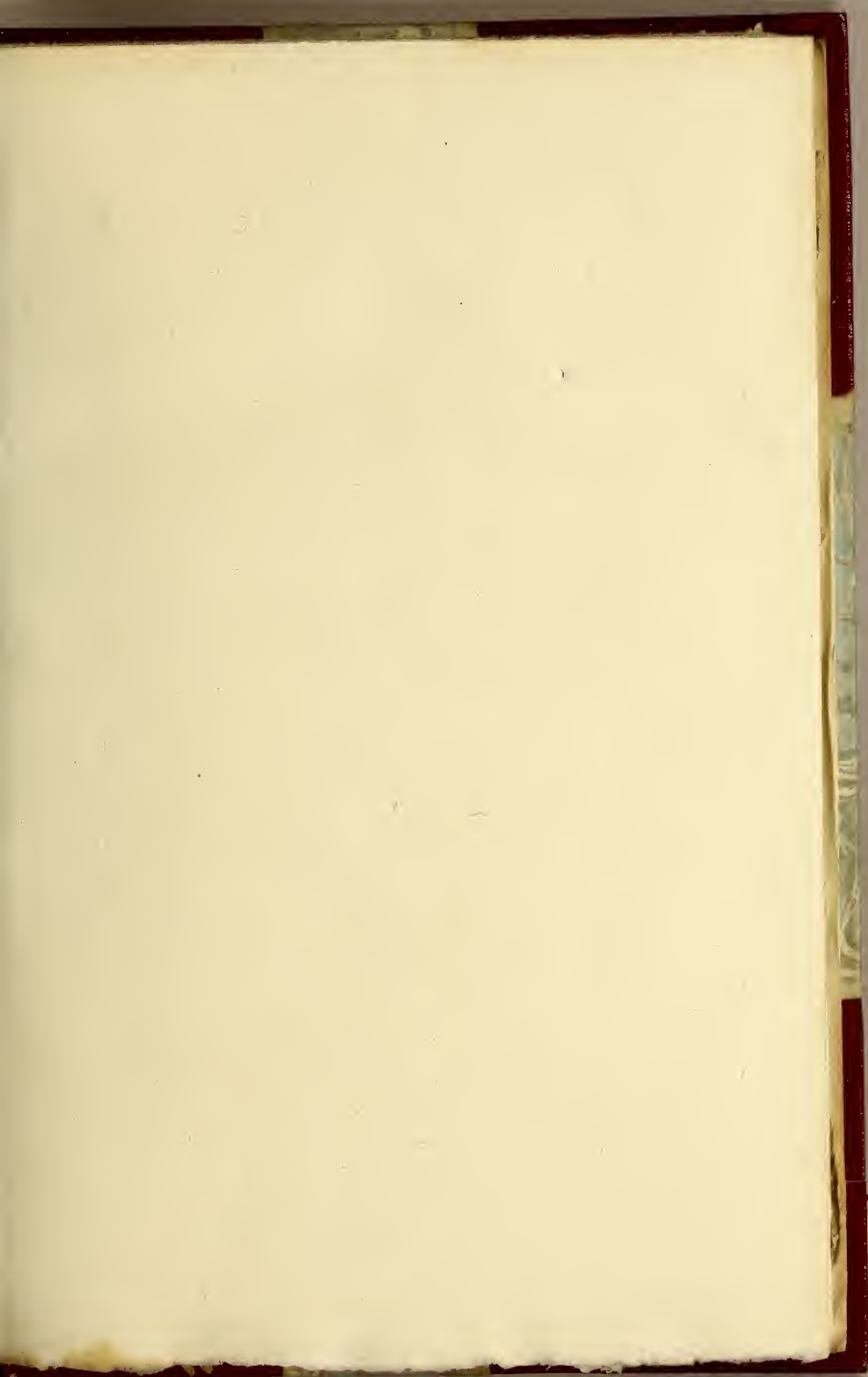
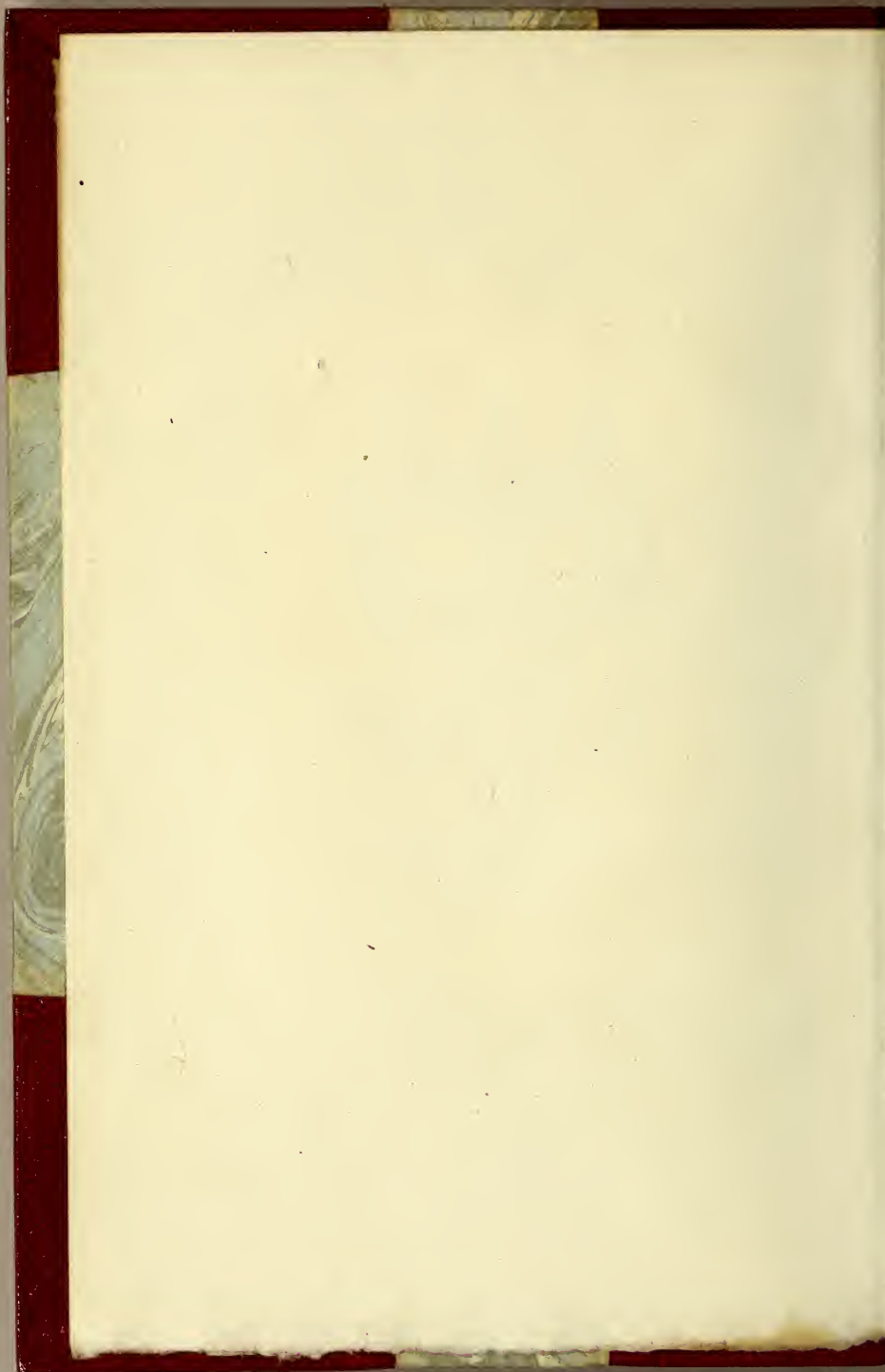


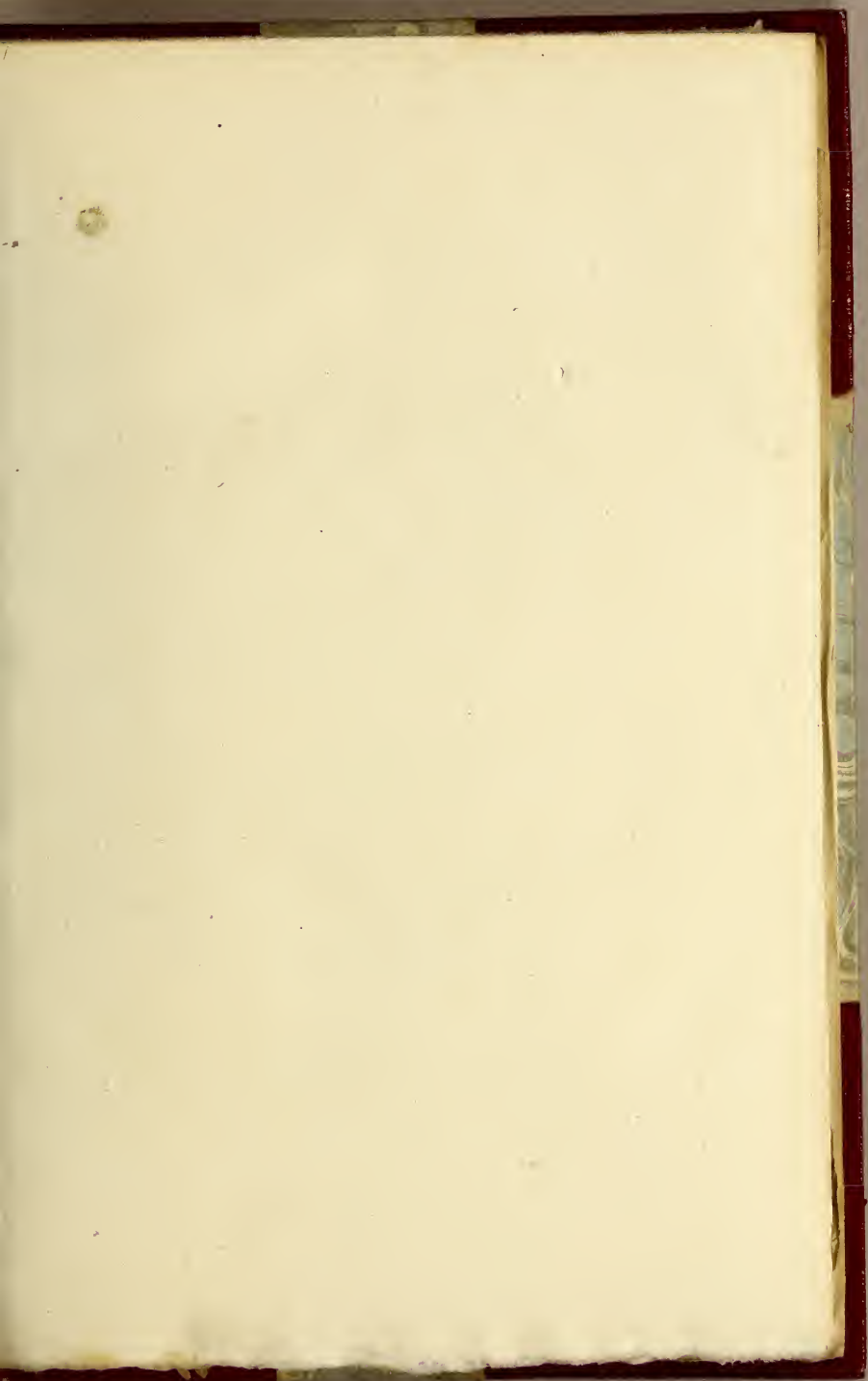
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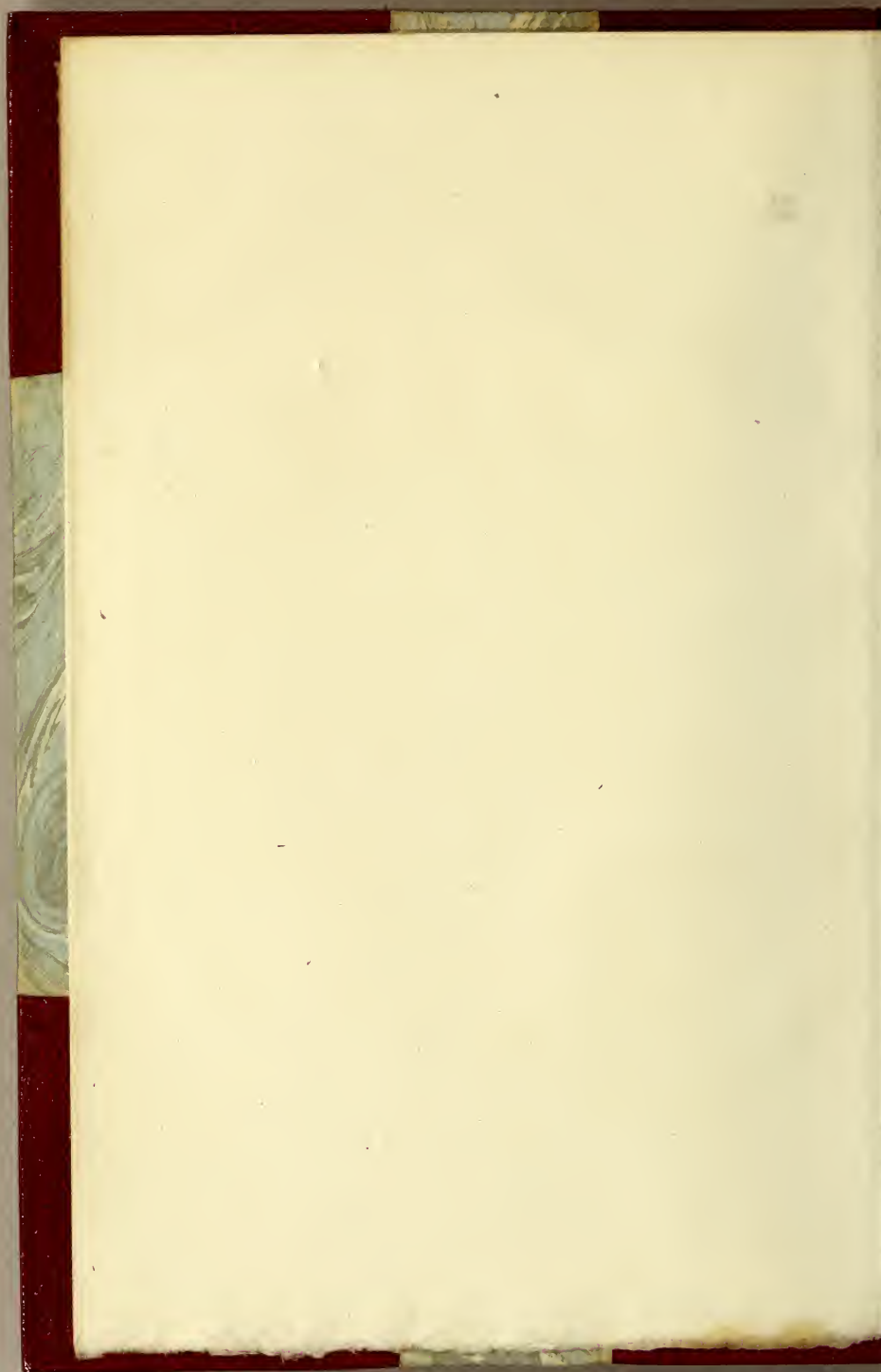


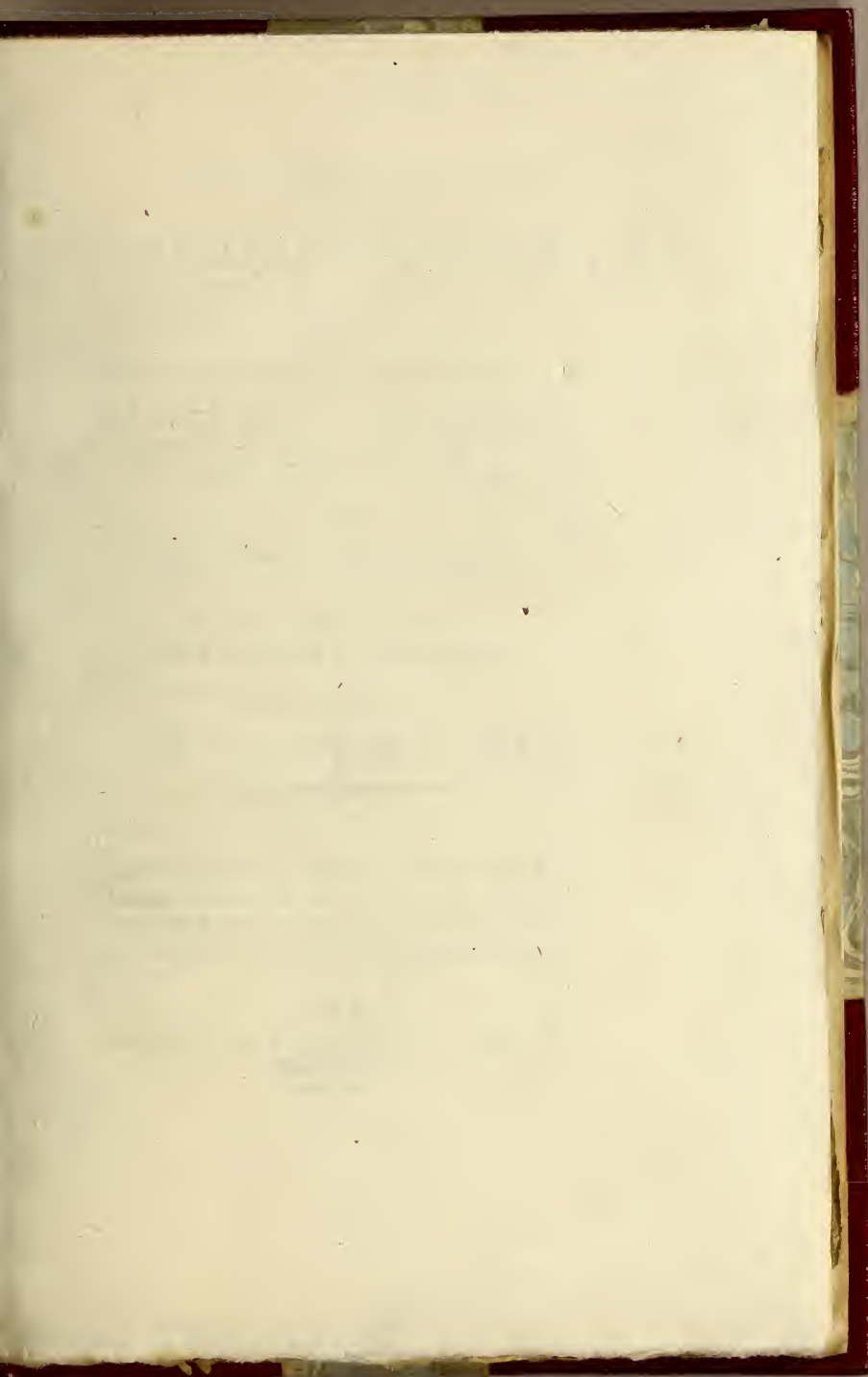












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OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE
CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL J. S. EUSTACE,

CITIZEN OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK, AIDE-DE-CAMP TO
GENERAL LEE AND GENERAL SULLIVAN, COLONEL AND
ADJUTANT-GENERAL IN THE SERVICE OF GEORGIA,

DURING

THE AMERICAN WAR:

AND

MARÉCHAL-DE-CAMP

IN THE ARMIES OF

THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE.

PART I.

HONOUR AND SHAME FROM NO CONDITION RISE,
ACT WELL YOUR PART—THERE ALL THE HONOUR LIES.

PARIS,

PRINTED BY ADLARD AND SON, RUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ, 373.

MDCXCVI.

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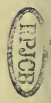
THE HISTORY OF THE
REIGN OF
HENRY THE SEVENTH

BY
JAMES HALL

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THE HISTORY OF THE
REIGN OF
HENRY THE SEVENTH



CORRECTIONS TO THE FIRST PART.

Page 9, line 19, for *par*, read *por*: p. 40, line 12, for *impossible*, read *possible*: p. 48, l. 22, insert the word *such*, after *that*: l. 29, for *parts*, read *ports*: p. 50, l. 2, for *rivetted*, read *wedded*: p. 91, l. 17, for *fire*, read *flames*: p. 99, l. 26, for *concerted*, read *converted*: p. 111, l. 12, for *unequivocable*, read *unequivocal*: p. 114, l. 4, of the Letter, for *marshal*, read *maréchal*; and p. 128, l. 1, for *foris*, read *focis*.--In p. 122, l. 3, after *writing*; and in p. 123, l. 21, after *Flemings*; there should be a semicolon, as they are punctuated here; the Reader will add an *s*, to the word *mortification*, l. 5, of page 76.

DEDICATION AND PREFACE.

TO EDWARD CHURCH, ESQUIRE,

CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED-STATES IN PORTUGAL.

THE dedicatory Part of this Address shall be very concise : to those who have not the Pleasure of knowing You, my dear Sir, your paternal Letter* will supply a very becoming Motive to this Tribute of filial Gratitude and Esteem ; those to whom you are known, will be sensible of the Honour I do myself—when I hail you either as a Father or a Friend. I profit of your momentary Absence to add—that one of the highest Favors ever conferred on any Man, was conferred on me by You ; nor was I informed till some Years after—and then accidentally—of your tender Regard to the Reputation and Happiness of an absent Countryman.

You venture to assure me, my paternal Friend, — “ I want only to be known, to

* SEE LETTER, PAGE LXXV.

ii DEDICATION

be universally esteemed and cordially caressed:” — the following Sketch of my Principles and Conduct, during the most important Years of my Life, will determine how far your Opinions are infallible: they have too much Force with me, not to impel me to discharge a Duty I owe to You and to the Public; I therefore trust, under your Auspices, that I shall now—and for the first Time—be judged impartially.

The Reader may possibly wish for some Information on my Origin and family Connections—he will be gratified on these two Points, by my Letter of the 26th of April 1793, to Lieutenant-General (the late Marquis) de Belmont: the Character of this very accomplished Nobleman will be found in another Part of the Publication; and You, my dear Sir, will be flattered by this Evidence of the Success of your Precepts and Example: will it not be considered a laudable Effort to deserve the filial Title, which You had permitted me to assume—when I selected, for a Parent, the best Husband—the best Father—the most patriotic

and exemplary Citizen of the Empire!

On the Style of my Letters I must offer one observation: that as each was written on the Spur of the Occasion which produced it, I hope the Reader will peruse them all with that charitable Temper, which I was led to promise myself in the Persons to whom they were addressed: as Copies of Originals in the Hands of others; I am not authorized to *revise* or *correct* them: they are therefore respectfully submitted to my Fellow-Citizens, in Testimony of my Wish to secure the Esteem of such of them as are my Friends; and to destroy, in others, the unfounded Opinions they may have been led to form of my Character or Conduct. I can safely assert, that I never omitted any Occasion which presented itself for being useful to them; and I may, with equal Confidence, aver—that I have not a single Reproach to dread or presume on any Part of my Connection with them abroad.

I may have been considered unfriendly to many, because I have not sought for an Intimacy with them; when they reflect;

that I sacrificed the Advantages of a liberal Education, at the Shrine of our National Freedom and Independence; and that I now devote my whole Time to the Attainment of such Knowledge as may render me useful to our common Country; that, since the Commencement of this War, I have never once visited any Theatre of Amusement or Dissipation; that they are all engaged either in Business or Pleasure, and are consequently unfit Companions for a Student, they will, I trust, give full Scope to their native Justice and brotherly Love — BY JUDGING ME, AS THEY WOULD THEMSELVES BE JUDGED. With the single Exception of Joseph Fenwick, I do not believe I can have an Enemy among my Countrymen; *and I should now beg Pardon of them all — had I been induced intemperately to vituperate a single Member of our Union:* when they are assured, that this Person — not content to have intercepted my Letters — to have denied his own; and to have attempted to prevent my being admitted as a Volunteer in the Service of

AND PREFACE. ▼

France—basely endeavoured to depreciate me to certain Representatives, his friends, at the very Moment—when they were deluging Bordeaux in the Blood of its most respectable Citizens; and when the TOLLE of any single BUTCHER-PRO-CONSUL was a Sentence of Death to any General of the Empire: thus assured, the brave and virtuous among my Compatriots will avow—that Silence, under the Conviction of such intended Injuries, even from an American Consul, is unworthy any military Founder of the American and French Commonwealths.

I return to You, my dear and paternal Friend, with filial Gratitude and Affection: If, as an American and a Pupil, I sincerely regret your Purpose of fixing the Residence of your Family in France, as the Ally of this Nation and as a Philanthropist, I am bound to rejoice in this Determination. May my beloved Country long boast them abroad, as Models of all those Virtues which eminently distinguish us at home! may the Citizens of this Republic—in whose

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vi DEDICATION, &c.

Preservation I feel a becoming Interest—
be instructed by your Example, that Pa-
rents and Preceptors, who practise what
they counsel, alone deserve the grateful
Benedictions of their Country! may they
feel, with us, that a prompt and total Re-
formation in their Morals, can alone give
Stability to the matchless Triumphs of
their military Defenders! In that fond
Hope, I very cordially felicitate the Parents
of this Capital, on the Acquisition they are
to make in the Persons of your Lady and
Daughters: they will then possess, under your
Roof, a striking Evidence of what a dis-
tinguished Father of the Church had in vain
attempted to enforce by Precept: HE ALONE
PREACHES SUBLIMELY—WHOSE LIFE IS
IRREPROACHABLE.

I salute You, dear Sir, as I love You,
with all my Heart.

JOHN SKEY EUSTACE.

PROJECT OF A TOBACCO CONTRACT. 1

COLONEL EUSTACE TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS DEL CAMPO, AMBASSADOR OF HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY, AT THE COURT OF ST. JAMES.

Bordeaux, 1st June, 1789.

AS I cannot suppose that any project which is consistent and honourable can possibly excite your excellency's displeasure, I am led to hope the present address will meet your indulgence, should it from political reasons be denied your approbation and patronage.

My inability to propose any plan to which I could reasonably promise myself the assent of the minister, count Floridablanca, during my residence at the court of Madrid, was, I am confident, the sole motive to my leaving Spain without a liberal compensation from government for the losses I had sustained in Spanish America—under the tyranny of a provincial despot. Some late arrangements, in the commercial regulations of the West-Indies, afford me a hope, that a proposition calculated to augment his Majesty's revenue will not be rejected, *merely because it is new*; and I flatter myself, as it may in some measure repair my own fortune, that the project cannot fail to interest the two leading principles of your excellency's character, patriotism and philanthropy.

The establishment of a rappee-manufactory at Seville, will naturally create a demand for the Vir-

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2 PROJECT OF A TOBACCO CONTRACT.

ginia tobacco, which is, if not indispensably necessary, at least *best adapted to the making of this kind of snuff*: and as the increasing use of this article must consequently lessen the consumption of *that of the Havana*, a part of the Spanish tobacco employed at present for the latter, will be added to the quantity now used in the making of *cigars*; which will diminish the actual demand for the *Brasil* tobacco imported from *Lisbon: that of Cuba*, when it can be had, being always preferred, since it is unquestionably less pernicious to the health of the inhabitants, as well from its purer quality as from the less poisonous manner of using it.*

I have been induced, Sir, to hazard these considerations by assurances from the American settlers on the Ohio, and confluent rivers, of the purchases made and prices given at New Orleans for their crops of tobacco; which, as the *estanco*, or royal monopoly, prohibits the free sale of this article in all the Spanish provinces, is undoubtedly purchased by and on account of the royal administration: these assurances having been given to a respectable house of commerce in this city, the idea has suggested itself to me of proposing a contract for the supply and delivery of a certain number of hogsheads of best Virginia tobacco, in any of the ports of that

* The Brasil tobacco is prepared with a sort of filthy syrop, and, when cut very small, is rolled and smoked in paper: the leaf-tobacco of Cuba is made into cigars, and used in its natural purity.

state, or at Cadiz, in Spanish or American bottoms, as may be hereafter agreed on.

The adjoined state of the prices paid at New-Orleans, together with that of the gross and nett proceeds of this article to his Catholic majesty, in the years 1784 and 1785, will serve as an evidence of its importance to government; and I trust as an apology for having intruded this project on your excellency.

It is natural for me, Sir, to solicit your decision on the propriety or *probable success* of this plan, before I make any proposition whatever to the Spanish government—your excellency being intimately connected with the source of administration in Spain: and possessing a minute knowledge of the several departments which are confided to the minister of state; besides, my personal experience of your excellency's candour, and of a certain partiality in my favour, have jointly induced me to submit the object of this plan to your inspection; and even to entreat your counsel on the mode of presenting it to government.

I beg your excellency may favour me with a reply to this letter, as soon as leisure from the more important duties of your ministry may permit; and I venture respectfully to add my best wishes for your happiness, repeating the assurances of that perfect gratitude and esteem, with which I have the honour to be your excellency's most affectionate humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

4 PROJECT OF A TOBACCO CONTRACT.

The tobacco purchased at New-Orleans is paid there at 10 dollars, or 200 *reales de Vellon*, per quintal, equal to 2 *reales* per pound: to demonstrate the great advantage of having it delivered at Cadiz or Seville at the *same price*—thus saving to government the expence of freight, insurance, and commission; it will suffice that I lay before you the annual consumption, in Spain, of this article, in rappee and fine snuff, in cigars and twisted Brasil tobacco: this state may be relied on, as I had it from the Royal Administration: I must premise, that the tobacco purchased in your own colonies produces a greater benefit, *being bought at a much lower price.*

	lb. wt.
In 1784, the consumption amounted to	3,205,986
which yielded, in <i>reales de Vellon</i>	128,589,032
First cost, at 2 <i>reales</i> per pound,	6,411,972
Expences of wages, salaries, etc.	21,635,574
Cost and expences deducted, or	28,047,546
The revenue had a nett profit in <i>reales</i> , of	100,541,486

We here find, that what cost about six millions and a half, was sold for more than a hundred and twenty-eight and a half, being above two thousand *per centum*; the *seemingly enormous expence* of twenty-one millions, cannot properly be attached to the administration of tobacco, since the two-thirds are paid in *salaries* to deserving or favoured subjects; and may therefore be classed as an essential article of the civil list, or *general pensions* of government: the wages of workmen do not exceed the first cost of the tobacco to the crown; so that

the clear result to the revenue is above one hundred and fifteen millions and a half — more than a thousand *per centum*: delivered at Cadiz, at the price now paid at New-Orleans, a handsome profit would remain to the contracting merchant; the king would save nearly ten millions of *reales*, or five hundred thousand dollars yearly: *and this channel of supply might be more agreeable to the Spanish government — than that of the Mississippi.*

THE MARQUIS DEL CAMPO TO COLONEL EUSTACE.

London, 24th June, 1789.

WITH very great pleasure, Sir, I receive the honour of your letter, dated the first instant; and as you do not say a word about your health, I guess it must be so good as not to think it worth mentioning: this takes me from the doubt and uneasiness I have been in for a long while; not knowing even if you were alive: I have perused with attention all you say about the tobacco business; but find myself puzzled about the advice to give: my long absence from my native country, and the multiplicity of extraordinary events that have succeeded each other at my court, keep me in a certain degree of ignorance respecting the true state of things there: however, I know the present king boasts of pursuing his father's maxims; and I see the prime minister, I might say all the ministers keep on; from which I conclude, that in the late reign you could have made such a proposal, and you might as well now.

6 PROJECT OF A TOBACCO CONTRACT.

I do not enter into the bottom of the business, as I do not understand it well enough, notwithstanding your explanation; nor can I guess whether there is some complication in other parts, that the court may be engaged in. After all, I think, that you, being a person already known at Madrid, might, without any impropriety, address a letter to the minister, with a very clear and well-explained proposal, so as to make palpable the advantages accruing; with the solicitation of being favoured, in a short time, with a positive answer one way or other, not to be kept in suspense. I do not imagine that such a step as this could in any manner offend or disoblige, and you venture nothing in making the trial.

This is all I have to say upon that subject; and returning you my thanks for the trust and confidence you shew in my favour, I shall subscribe myself, with the greatest esteem and regard, your most affectionate humble servant,

C A M P O.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM CARMICHAEL,
ESQUIRE, MINISTER RESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT
THE COURT OF MADRID.

Bordeaux, 19th July, 1795.

I Inclose you a copy, my dear Carmichael, of a letter just received from the Marquis del Campo, in reply to mine on the subject of a contract I had proposed; and which I also submit to your inspection: the events at Paris stagger my belief on the propriety of going myself to Madrid at this juncture:

the popular tide will not stop here; on the contrary, this bastille-obstacle once removed, we may expect it will, in its now-unrestrained course, sweep off some other pedestals of royal power. I wish, therefore, to know before hand, my kind friend, what effect it shall have produced with you at the period of your reply, which I beg you to delay, as well for the purpose of affording me a satisfactory answer, as to enable you to secure a private conveyance; for, in search of personal advantages for myself, I shall never provoke a departure from your wonted and laudable circumspection, in all matters which may directly or indirectly concern your public ministry.

I confess I have sound hopes on the adoption of my plan, from the terms of M. del Campo's friendly reply: he is too amiable to be offended at my hinting to him a common complaint made by all projectors of useful institutions in Spain, during the administration of M. Galvez: his invariable answer was: *this is an innovation on the actual system, and will not suit the genius of our nation, which is wedded to its ancient habits and customs*: besides—it is beneficial to the revenue; and if the present king persists, as I am sure he will, in that righteous system of justice which marked the reign of the good old monarch, in every instance where the victims of arbitrary power could atchieve a personal statement of their sufferings or claims, I shall have ample justice in one way or other: nay, had not Guillelmi been

the husband of a *doncella* (waiting maid) of Madam Galvez, I should already enjoy the *otium cum dignate* on my native shore: The marquis of Sonora's influence must soon subside; and then the queen's amiable character will beam forth with unoffuscated lustre: her great humanity, her winning gentleness, her predilection for strangers, all assure me, that a claim like mine will meet attention, which must insure me redress; but this great political event staggers me not a little: either there will not be a moment to spare for the private concerns of individuals; or the presence at court of an American revolutionist, may recal the source of the present popular spirit here: the very words *Ohio* and *Mississippi* will make the cabinet tremble for their transatlantic possessions; and I may receive such a refusal, as may render any future appeal impossible of success: yet I have hopes that the colonial system of Spain will be reformed: it will be a glorious article in the present reign, and immortalize Charles and Louisa: if it should be changed it must be for the better; and though I am young enough to look forward to distinction in the emancipation of several colonies; and though I think, with Harrison, there is another field preparing nearer home, yet I wish the colonists happy, without the horrors of a civil war: the minister is a military man; and would feel the danger, *I would then point out to him*, of their being conquered, or alienated from Spain: and

as he has none of those prejudices against foreigners, which disgrace many of the home-bred Spaniards, he will, I trust, enable me to retain my sword in its scabbard: if I do unsheathe it, believe me it will never be *to conquer any people*: but to emancipate the slaves of any petty despot, I would travel to the most distant point of the habitable globe, provided their sovereign, or the magistracy of their metropolis, denied them redress when they petitioned for it. The elevation of the minister, not born to titles, will arm all the grandees against him; with perhaps the single exception of that illustrious and extraordinary citizen-count, M. de Fernan Nunez; withdrawing the national administration from the hands of the nobility was a policy of the last reign; and founded on a principle of Alfonso the Wise, in the laws *de las Partidas* (book ii. tit. 9.): *de los nobles omes é poderosos, non se puede el Rey bien servir, en los officios de cada dia: ca par la nobleza desdenarian el servicio cotidiano: è por el poderio atreverse yen à fazer cosas, que se tornerian en daño, é en despreciamento del.*—Floridablanca, Campomanes, Muzquiz, are not the only examples I could exhibit.

How does my dear friend Colonel Pineda stand with government? If the cloud, which had too-long offuscated him, is dispelled, he will shine forth one of the brightest stars in the academical region.

Address for me at M. Fenwick's, and accept the homage of my grateful respect and esteem.

J. S. EUSTACE.

C

MR. CARMICHAEL TO COLONEL EUSTACE.

Madrid, July 27th, 1789.

THIS is not the moment to present yourself here: the affair of Paris will not end, as you justly observe, where it now seems to rest; so an American military democrat is not at his post here.

The queen continues to be just, generous, and amiable: the king is also disposed to repair the faults of past administrations: but remember, too, these words of Alfonso the Wise: "El solo non podria ver, nin librar, todas las cosas: porque a menester por fuerza ayuda de otros, en quien se fie, que cumplan en su lugar, usando del poder, que del reciben en aquellas cosas, que el non podria por si cumplir."

Your system does honour to your humanity and philanthropy; two qualities I have always admired in you: and I hope, with you, that a reform in the colonial government will render it unnecessary for you to unsheathe your sword: the favourite, it is true, is a military man; and if things grow quiet in France, you can rely that he will not be averse from doing justice—even to a foreigner.

Do not write me by the post, and be careful of what you write: wrap all political events in a veil, impervious to ministerial scrutiny: in that, I am not

PROJECT FOR EMANCIPATING CARACAS, &c. 11

changed; for I will never hazard my official dignity or well-being here, on communications tending merely to gratify my curiosity as a man. You have hitherto agreed with me in the principle, and I am happy to find you not drawn into the levity of character of your actual associates: recommend me to Spanish taciturnity, when there is danger; and to Spanish courage—when there is need.

Adieu; may you be happy, my friend; and if I can contribute, rely on my usual willingness.

Sincerely your's, W. C.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO THE HONOURABLE F. L. LONDON.

Bordeaux, 15th May, 1790.

WILL you charge yourself, dear Sir, with a commission to Mr. Pitt, of which the execution may probably tend to an honourable compensation, for the injuries I have sustained in *South America*, under the tyranny of a provincial despot of Spain; by constituting me a chief instrument in the emancipation of several most delightful and oppressed colonies; to whose inhabitants I am gratefully attached, by a recollection of their civilities towards me during a long residence among them: and although I am actuated by a principle of resentment for the unredressed wrongs I have met with, in a colonial government; yet I trust my present conduct will not be considered unbecoming of me, as a

soldier and a man of honour, totally unconnected with and independent of the court of *Spain*; since the freedom and happiness of a numerous and miserable people, is the *final* object of my wishes.

It must be premised, that it is not *the conquest*, but the *affranchisement* of this people, which is projected or desired; to adopt a plan, *which merely tended* to the invasion of their rights and property, would ill become the son and successor of that immortal patriot, who, having never profaned the one, so admirably defined the other: "an atom untangible by any but the proprietor: *that*, which the touch of another annihilates, since whatever is a man's own, is absolutely and *exclusively* his own;" and it would ill accord with the grateful attachment I have professed for this people, to be the projector.

My solicitation to you, is simply to communicate to the minister in person, the purport of this note; and to learn, whether it is conformable or repugnant to the policy of the *British* cabinet, in the event of a war with *Spain*, to separate from the mother country, such of the provinces as can be emancipated from their present subjection; to the immediate advancement of the commerce of the *British* empire, with a trivial pecuniary, and probably without any other expence:—a plan which, if successful, must prove the harbinger of South-American independence; and thence, by the dismemberment of a rival and hostile power, the mi-

nister may atchieve what was so justly reprobated by his illustrious sire, in its application to the North-American war, *sine clade victoria*.

If therefore a simple and well-concerted plan should be laid before him, by an officer of rank and service, who is efficiently versed in the language and has travelled in several of the provinces alluded to, will there be any obstacle to his desire of being employed—subordinately to the officer who shall command the expedition—in a manner consistent with that military rank which he holds in a foreign service, since the year 1781—provided he unites to unequivocal testimonies of distinction in his profession, the ties of consanguinity and of friendship with several officers of high rank in the British army, *to justify and enforce this professional stipulation:* and to the esteem and respect of the late governor, intendent and inhabitants of those *Spanish* colonies, a friendly intimacy with some personages, actually attached to and employed by the court of Madrid, at home and abroad, *in testimony of his influence and respectability—in the provinces alluded to:* though unconnected by any moral obligation, or by any political relation or dependence with, or upon that government, which can depreciate his motives, or render his fidelity suspected?

He possesses, moreover, a *local* knowledge of the several British, French, Dutch, and Spanish islands, from Barbadoes to Cuba; and particularly of the situation and resources of those in the vicinity of the

colonies in question, lying on the western shore of the *Caribbean* sea, which are generally considered, and have really proved, impregnable—from every ostensible aspect or approach; minutely reconnoitred, however, by an unopposed, attentive officer, the facility of access became evident to a military eye; nor would the gentleman, who thus confidently intimates these circumstances for Mr. Pitt's investigation, expose himself to suspicion or reproach, by hazarding the recommendation of a project, originating in any other source than—*personal investigation* and conviction.

—As there are no garrisons of *regular* troops, and as the inhabitants are disaffected to their actual governors, the projected separation will be as easy as the present subjection is odious and intolerable. The forces, adequate to any circumstance which can attend the enterprize, need not exceed 12 or 1500 men; to be selected, and relieved, from the *British* colonial garrisons, as these troops, already formed to the service and climate of the tropics, may be thus embarked, without the smallest indication of the place or duty they are destined for; and conveyed from one or more of three adjacent *British* islands—or should a naval armament be ordered to the Spanish coast, or to any of the Leeward isles of that Archipelago, 1000 or 1200 men might be debarked, *en passant*, for this service, with a detention of only two or three days to the fleet.

Upon the success of the enterprize, the invalids

would serve to compose a considerable part of a remaining garrison—for the security and government of the inhabitants; the climate and abundance of either of the cities in question, would soon reinstate them sufficiently for any service, which a subsequent menace or attack *from without* might occasion: besides, a number of volunteers and sailors may be obtained, to replace this detachment; at the same time that barks, with expert *Indian* and other *Creole* pilots and boatmen, could be secured, to facilitate any future operations of the *British* fleet on the *Spanish* coasts or islands—Plans, guides, and interpreters will be with certainty supplied.

It cannot prove offensive, though it may be totally unnecessary, to enjoin the minister to secrecy, in the event that the present plan should not merit his adoption: this caution will, however, account for the very faint colours in which the business is now delineated—if the object held forth is found to militate with any previous system, enough has been said; but should the present sketch appear to meet his ideas, and its execution be considered as conformable, as the author predicts it will be glorious, to Mr. Pitt's administration—the gentleman, who has the honour to present this project for his investigation, will instantly repair to England, provided he may be indemnified for any *extraordinary* expences occasioned by an unexpected change in his actual arrangements: the subsequent conditions, as far as they respect himself, being grounded not on

pecuniary but honourable motives, are—a brevet of his present rank, revocable *with professional responsibility* on the failure of the enterprize—with an additional grade, on the full and ample accomplishment of the plan submitted.

This letter you will reserve for my future disposal; advising me, in the interim, of its immediate result. I remain, with best compliments—but not with a communication of this business, to your fair and amiable lady—affectionately your friend, and respectfully her admirer, and faithful adopted brother.

J. S. EUSTACE.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO LORD ROBERT FITZGERALD, MINISTER
PLENIPOTENTIARY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY, AT THE
COURT OF FRANCE.

Bordeaux, 22d June, 1790.

MY LORD,

WERE it my duty to address Lord Edward Fitzgerald on this occasion, I should approach his lordship with the confidence and familiarity of a friend; however, on the business in question, I feel emboldened by the private character and public ministry of your lordship, which separately assure every advantage I could hope from a personal acquaintance: to waft the blessings of freedom and independence to an oppressed and persecuted people; and, at the same time, to promote the

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the commercial prosperity of his native empire, are objects so becoming of the representative of a *British* sovereign, and so congenial with a patriotic nobleman of *Ireland*, that I could not have wished an introduction to your lordship, under auspices more favourable.

The inclosed letter, my lord, was intended for a friend of mine in *London*, to be communicated by him to Mr. Pitt; but, on reflection, I considered your lordship the most consistent and dignified medium; and I do not hesitate to submit its contents to an unreserved inspection: on the feasibility of my project, I have no additional arguments to offer; and with respect to the professional stipulation, I rest the propriety on your lordship's judgment as a military peer, who, sparing me the odious task of egotism and the citation of precedents, will readily decide on the impossibility of my consenting to become a cypher in the enterprize, or to serve with any rank which, if inferior—would prove disgraceful to my own.

In proposing that the detachment, for this prompt and vigorous expedition, should be drawn from garrisons in the West-Indies, *as supplying fresh and seasoned troops*—I had also in view the engagement of Major Campbell, now in command of the 48th regiment at Antigua, to a share in the enterprize, from his constant service of thirty years in North-America and the Caribbean islands; besides,

the major is my uncle; which, added to a personal acquaintance with the officers of that corps, during a late tour through Ireland, might conduce as powerfully to the general harmony and success of the design—as to my personal confidence and tranquility, during its progress to accomplishment.

Your lordship will probably honour me with a reply to this letter, in which supposition an address is inclosed. I have the honour to be, with perfect consideration, your lordship's most obedient, and very humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

Postscript, 3d July.—I was balancing, for many days, between the very pacific assurances on the side of Spain, and the unremitting preparations for war on the part of *Great-Britain*—until the arrival and reception of Mr. Fitzherbert at *Madrid*, which seemed generally to have preponderated the public here, in favour of a speedy reconciliation of the menacing powers; and this will account for the distant date of the foregoing letter: however, the last advices from *England* have confirmed my *unvaried* expectations of a rupture; and will I trust appear a sufficient apology for the present intrusion on your lordship—at the same time, should it be considered unnecessary or improper to communicate the contents of the inclosed letter to Mr. Pitt, I venture to hope from your lordship's generosity, a *total suppression of its purport*—a long and intimate ac-

acquaintance with *M. del Campo*, has confirmed me in a previous veneration for the incomparable assiduity and sagacity of that minister; it is therefore a duty I owe to my country, and to myself, to guard, as far as possible, against *his knowledge* of the plan proposed, which would not only militate with its future pursuit or execution; but might unnecessarily embarrass or expose me; should I revisit *Spain*, as I hope and intend, either in a public or private character.

J. S. EUSTACE.

[I had hoped to be attached to the embassy to Algiers — it is the only public place I ever sincerely wished for: my correspondence with the religious order of redemptioners, at Bordeaux; and with Mrs. Lafayette, Jay and Tench Coxe, will attest I was the first individual, who ever projected or pursued any certain or feasible plan, for liberating our fellow-citizens from bondage.]

COLONEL EUSTACE TO LORD ROBERT S. FITZGERALD.

Bordeaux, 20th August 1790.

MY LORD,

HAVING neglected to annex to my letter of the 3d July, the address I had intended, it is natural for me to ascribe your lordship's silence to this omission; it may have proceeded from a *public* cause; but I shall, in either case, be forgiven for requesting your lordship may favour me with the

papers I had transmitted, as being now of no importance — since amidst the various destinations, which an anxious and prying public have assigned to the fleets of Great-Britain, that of South-America is universally rejected.

It may be necessary, at parting, to justify myself on the motives which induced the vast project I had formed; your lordship will recollect, that Monsieur de Raynal, in enumerating the invasions to which the transatlantic possessions of Spain are exposed, very roundly asserts; that “if the noble and laudable desire of emancipating them from the yoke of the mother-country, and an emulation to participate their riches, by fair trade and industry, should animate a nation — and I fancy from the mode proposed he particularly alludes to Great-Britain — it would be a very easy matter, by pursuing the plan laid down for Lord Anson, to deprive Spain, at one stroke, of all her American possessions — beyond the Southern tropic.” — The fact is incontestible, my lord, and the plan not a bad one, in my opinion, for the hither tropic also; if, therefore, the hopes I entertained of its success, are considered as unfounded, or the project itself is deemed chimerical, the former were at least authorized by a sounder judgment than my own; and the latter, if merely visionary, is not original; it is an important question, which demands a mature rather than immediate discussion — since the late political forbearance and pecuniary condescension of the court of Spain (r) leaves no pretext;

at present, for this dismemberment; and *pretexts**, my lord, are necessary on these occasions—the most ambitious sovereigns of our time being more punctilious in the etiquette of declaring war—than scrupulous in the expenditure of blood and treasure, which its progress must entail on their subjects.

As a man, my lord, I should rejoice in the pacific assurances of the Spanish and British cabinets, could I hope that a general and permanent peace would ensue; as a patriot, it is no less an object of desire, being essential to the reparation of all the evils occasioned by an eight years war, in my native country; and next to this native country and her constitution, the wealth, honour, and prosperity of the *British* empire, is the fondest pursuit of my heart—these appear to be happily secured by the late negotiations between the ministers of their *Catholic* and *Britannic* majesties, much to the interest of the former, and equally to the praise of the latter: supposing a *rupture* (says Mr. Swift) to have commenced upon a just motive, the next thing to be considered is, *when a prince ought, in prudence, to receive the*

* Johnson, I think, has somewhere said, that princes have yet this remnant of humanity, that they think themselves obliged not to make war, without a *reason*, though *their reasons* are not *always satisfactory*—it is since my writing to lord Robert, that I have recollected this observation; and as the sentence of an acknowledged advocate for kingly government, I quote it with double pleasure and security.

ouvertures of an accommodation — the first and strongest reason he has adduced, is precisely that which justifies the late reconciliation, it being impossible that your monarch, if as generous as he is powerful, should hesitate to abandon the most flattering prospects of conquest or glory “*when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for.*”

I expect your lordship's pardon for repeating the former intrusion, when I declare that this will be the last: my friend Colonel Blackden, at Paris, having charged himself with the conveyance of my letter to your lordship's hotel, I could not suppose it had miscarried; nor could I, in justice to my own character, imagine any other motive for the subsequent silence, than the one I have assigned—without a manifest and unbecoming offence to your lordship's delicacy and reputation—as a gentleman and a minister. I have the honour to be, with due respect and consideration, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

Address à M. Eustace, à l'hôtel de M. le Baron de Secondat, à Bordeaux: but if the papers are addressed to Colonel Eustace, hôtel de la Grande-Bretagne, rue Jacob, Faubourg Saint Germain, Colonel Blackden will receive and retain them till my arrival at Paris, if my health should permit me to set out for that capital, as I intend.

LORD R. S. FITZGERALD, TO COLONEL EUSTACE.

Aubigny en Berri, September 10, 1790.

S I R,

I HAD the honour to receive your letter of the 20th August, in the country where I now am, and hope that my absence from Paris, and some pressing business in which I am engaged here, may apologize to you for my not having answered it sooner.

However happy I should have been in being favoured with your correspondence, or any other papers from you on the interesting matters you speak of, I must assure you that I never received any letter or papers previous to that which I have just now received from you; and that I do not recollect that Colonel Blackden ever did me the honour of calling on me at Paris, or of leaving any papers whatever for me at my house—I shall however on my return make enquiry, as it is possible the papers may have been left with my porter, and not have been delivered to me, which gross negligence on the part of my servant, I can scarcely credit; and as you seem to attach some concern to the safety of the papers, I shall immediately send to Colonel Blackden at Paris, to beg of him to give you that in-

formation, which he alone is able to give concerning them. I have the honour to be, with much respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT STEP. FITZGERALD.

P. S. I must beg you, Sir, to excuse my writing to you on this trifling paper, as I am not well accommodated here.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO LORD ROBERT FITZGERALD.

Bordeaux, 20th September, 1790.

I HAVE been honoured, my lord, with a billet dated the 10th instant, at *Aubigny en Berri*: could I content myself with affording a negative testimony of that grateful consideration which it has inspired, I should, in attention to the public ministry and private occupations of your lordship, most scrupulously adhere to the resolution I had formed—of never repeating my late intrusion; however respectful and consistent my silence might be held by your lordship, I still teach myself to believe—that the present unfeigned acknowledgment of your lordship's polite condescension, will not prove offensive.

My surprize and mortification, on the late miscarriage of the packet in question, is wholly inexpressible;

pressible; could I have predicted the possibility of neglect in the channel I had chosen for its conveyance, I should have had the honour of *personally* submitting the plan for your lordship's investigation: to obviate any future pain to your lordship on this score, I shall advise Colonel Blackden of the accident; and, trusting the packet will be recovered for transmission, I can only observe—that should the project appear worthy of farther *développement*, or capable of future adoption, I shall by letter or personally reply to any doubt or query, which your lordship may suggest or propose; but should it prove either inadmissible or premature, I beg your lordship may have the goodness to commit to the flames the several papers respecting it.

I have the honour to be, my lord, with the most perfect consideration, and with due apologies for these reiterated interruptions, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

LORD ROBERT FITZGERALD TO COLONEL EUSTACE.

Paris, Monday, 27th September, 1790.

SIR,

ON my return from Aubigny, I am preparing for a second journey, and intend quitting Paris tomorrow morning for England; but previous to my departure, allow me to make known to you my very awkward situation with respect to you, and to in-

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treat your indulgence for the very gross piece of negligence I have been guilty of.

I can scarcely conceive it myself, and indeed I am almost ashamed to confess it; but the fact is, for truth must ever be respected, I did overlook your first letter, and amidst several other letters and papers, which were put into my hands about the same time, it was most unfortunately thrown aside unopened, and remained unopened until this day, when, upon looking over the various papers in my possession, preparatory to my journey to England, it fell, to my utter confusion and surprize, into my hands; and I read it with the one inclosed—with that degree of interest and attention they so much merit, and with every degree of pain and regret, that it is possible to experience, for the anxiety you must have felt for their safety. I have only now to ask your pardon, for my vexatious negligence; and to assure you that whatever you may be pleased to communicate to me in future, on the same subject, will be most carefully attended to; and if it is not too late, and you still wish it, I will willingly submit the inclosed letter to the inspection of Mr. Pitt, whom I shall see shortly—and shall wait your commands to that effect, at the *duke of Leeds's office, Whitehall, London.*

At the same time that I repeat the mortification I experience on this occasion, and again intreat your forgiveness for this unlucky accident, allow me to assure you—that I shall ever remain with every

sentiment of respect, Sir, your most faithful and most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT STEP. FITZGERALD.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO LORD ROBERT FITZGERALD.

Bordeaux, 9th October, 1799.

NOT content, my lord, to have admitted the present correspondence in terms the most courteous and respectful, your lordship has deigned to prove most ingeniously attentive and sympathetic by its continuance and encouragement; relieved, as I have been, from a state of suspense, the most cruel and afflictive, I feel myself impressed with emotions of gratitude and esteem, which are difficult, nay impossible of utterance; suffice it then, my lord, to say, I am *properly affected* by your lordship's unexpectedly prompt and satisfactory reply, of the 27th September, to my letter of the preceding week; and to spare the necessity of a future avowal of these sentiments, permit me to assure your lordship—that as they existed antecedent to the present correspondence, so they must continue independent of its progress or issue.

The relative situation of Great-Britain to Spain, at this moment, requires that I should be prompt and explicit in my *développement* of the plan I had suggested — but my health, enfeebled by a long

course of anxiety, rather than by any bodily infirmity, unfits me for a patient, minute detail of the motives which led to my visiting and exploring the Spanish provinces in question; or to my determination of submitting to the British cabinet a project for their emancipation; I am sensible that both are almost indispensable, for meriting and securing the patronage of Mr. Pitt to the project, or to the projector; the first is a tedious story, my lord, and would fill a letter infinitely too long for ministerial perusal or attention; I therefore beg leave to waive it: as to the last, I will ingenuously declare, that had the United States of America a fleet competent to the enterprize—my *first submission* of the project, would not have been made to a *British minister*.

Of my present reserve, I must urge in extenuation the hazard and delay inseparable from an epistolary correspondence with your lordship or Mr. Pitt, between *Bordeaux* and *London*: these unite with the approaching season, and the necessity of closing a seven years excursion, to hasten my return to the arms of my family, and to the bosom of my country—unless there may *immediately* appear some stronger inducement than a *bare possibility* of its *present* or *future adoption*, to justify a longer residence abroad. To merit, however, a final epistolary reply from your lordship, I shall add, that the cities of *Cumanà* and *Caracas*, are those to which I have alluded: the latter is the residence of the captain-general of the provinces of *Venezuela*—(of

which Caracas is the capital) of Cumana, Maracaybo and Guayana—with the islands of Trinidad and Margarita, whose governors are only commandants-general.

My Spanish maps and papers having been left in London, at my departure in 1787, I could not from hence, even in a better state of health and spirits, say more on the business than this: assured of the accessible and defenceless state of these cities—of the disaffection of the inhabitants—of the facility of separating them from their Spanish yoke—and of the certainty of drawing the bulk of their trade into British channels, *and a great proportion of the remainder into that of America*—with the introduction of arts, and the promotion of industry among the colonists; thus assured, I say, the vast and honourable motives of love towards my neighbour; *affection for my native country*; a due reverence for Great-Britain and her constitution, with a certainty of personal employment, distinction and independence, have dictated and would inspire me, I trust, to execute this plan—or nobly to perish in the attempt. My finances, my lord, will not justify my going to England on a meer *speculation*; at the moment of departure for America, I have been unexpectedly arrested by your lordship's most welcome letter; the detention, however, of a few weeks by no means incommodes me, since my health required some repose for my then-intended, or for any future

journey; and as it intails no considerable expence upon me.

Your lordship cannot possibly reply to this letter by return of post, I shall therefore do myself the honour to write more fully by the next courier, after which I shall promise myself as definitive an answer as circumstances will permit: *I promise myself*, I say, because your lordship is ingenious: I will not add, that this *has taught me to be so*, because I will not seemingly imply a new obligation to your lordship, by violating that which I owe to the dictates of nature, and to the force of parental example; but I am free to confess, that I am indebted to your lordship, for having eradicated from my mind a long-existing and deep-rooted prejudice against all ministers and courtiers: this inspired confidence has warmed me to declare to your lordship my private as well as relative situation; though unable to make a pecuniary sacrifice myself, I expect none from the minister; but I have ventured to state a fact, which is not intended to excite either his pity or his generosity; but to enforce the exercise of his usual candour: with your lordship I shall not expostulate, convinced, though patronage may be withheld from my project—I shall not be denied attention and consideration. I have the honour to be, my lord, with perfect esteem and unfeigned affection, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

[NOTE.]

The detail promised in the last letter, was ready for transmission as early as the 20th of October: however, Mr. Frazer's return from Madrid induced my detention of it; and the pointed assurances he gave me, *of at least a temporary pacification*, as it militated with an *immediate* execution of my project, enforced the propriety of referring the intended communication till some future period—I have therefore reserved it for the close of this series of letters.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO LORD ROBERT FITZGERALD.

Bordeaux, 16th June, 1791.

IT is some time, my lord, since count Morski informed me of your lordship's return to Paris; yet from motives of delicacy alone, I hesitated to intrude even a single question by letter, though I was particularly anxious to know whether mine of the 9th of October—directed at the duke of Leed's office, Whitehall, and inclosed to Mr. Hancock of *London*—had been duly remitted to its address. Supposing, however, that it could not have miscarried, I feel it incumbent on me to account for the suppression of the detail I had promised by the subsequent courier, to guard against an impeachment of neglect or impoliteness—which might equally subject me to censure or disesteem.

As early as the 20th of October, my lord, I had prepared a very long and hurried exposition of my plan, for the emancipation of the colonies in question; but at the moment of dispatching it to London, the arrival of the duke of Manchester was announced—and it was added, his grace was charged with an extraordinary embassy to *Spain*—this was no sooner contradicted, than the report of Mr. Fitzherbert's negotiation was made known to us, which induced me again to retard my letter.—On the 27th November, Mr. Frazer arrived from Madrid; he confirmed to me the news of a thorough accommodation; and though he was induced to believe "*it would not be permanent for a considerable time,*" I then considered it my duty to desist from the intended intrusion of a very long letter. At present, my lord, I am peremptorily called to America, by a considerable inheritance, to which I have been unexpectedly destined, on the death of a friend; yet, having just received my Spanish maps and papers from London, I should gladly pay your lordship a visit at Paris—if it is considered probable that any public utility may result either from an immediate journey thither, or to London; the pleasure of handing to your lordship a very favourable introduction from the Messieurs French, would alone induce me to visit Paris at any other period; and the reasons assigned in my last letter, will, I trust, serve to extenuate a seeming omission on my part—should I leave this country previous to a personal tender of my respectful esteem.

Should

Should your lordship have leisure for replying to this letter, I shall cheerfully deliver or transmit mine of the 20th October to any address that may be indicated to me; and I will annex to it a transcript from my journal of the population, produce and military force of the several provinces alluded to. My friend M. de Secondat being in the country, which might expose my letters to delay, I must beg your lordship would address for me chez M. Fenwick, consul des États-Unis de l'Amérique, aux Chartrons. I have the honour to remain, with perfect consideration, your lordship's most obedient and very humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

LORD ROBERT FITZGERALD TO COLONEL EUSTACE.

Paris, July 31, 1791.

MY silence, while in London, originated in the same cause, Sir, with your's, respecting the detailed plan you had given me leave to expect from you before I quitted England, having considered our correspondence at an end when the pacification took place between Great-Britain and Spain. If there are any apologies to be made on either side, they are surely with me, as I am under more obligations to you for the frank and open manner in which you have communicated your sentiments, than I have ever expressed in my letters to you—which have

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neither been so punctual or frequent as the occasion required. Your present offer is a further proof of that generous conduct, which I must decline taking advantage of now, as I do not know that at this moment any public utility can be derived from the trouble you might be tempted to give yourself were I to accept it.

I beg leave to congratulate you, Sir, on the inheritance which has fallen to you; and although I lament that circumstances have prevented my forming a personal acquaintance with you, yet I hope you will have the goodness to believe that my esteem for you is not the less considerable: and that I shall always remain with great truth and consideration, Sir, your most obliged humble servant,

ROBERT STEP. FITZGERALD.

P. S. May I beg of you, Sir, to present my kindest compliments to Messieurs French, for whom I have the highest respect and esteem. My brother Edward, who is at present here on a visit to me, desires to be particularly remembered to you.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO LORD ROBERT FITZGERALD.

Bordeaux, 20th October, 1790.

I Have now, my lord, to close a tedious correspondence by a very long letter, with which no consideration merely personal could have tempted me to abuse of your lordship's condescension.

I had promised, as it was my intention, to write by the last courier; but a cabinet-messenger from England, who passed through this city the day before on his way to Spain, had announced the immediate arrival of the duke of Manchester; and as it was surmised, nay assured, his grace was going on to Madrid, I was induced to delay my letter, knowing, in the event of this extraordinary embassy, that a sufficient time would necessarily elapse to admit of my writing to Spain—before the commencement of hostilities. I was desirous of procuring the latest accounts from South - America, in general, with the actual state of the provinces designated in my last letter, as the long-existing rumours of an impending war may possibly have effected some important changes in the ordinary system of administration or defence — which have not yet come to my knowledge.

The duke of Manchester had not arrived last evening: and to-day his grace has been formally divested of his diploma, by the common consent of those who *yesterday* concurred to dub the noble minor an ambassador: and as the London merchants continue most strongly to impress on their correspondents here, the certainty of a war — which the unceasing preparations of Great Britain as strongly corroborate—I can no longer retard the few observations I have to add from hence on the subject in question. ^{on}As a necessary prelude, however, I shall endeavour, though it is an awkward task, to antici-

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pate and refute the principal doubts and objections—to which I conceive the project may *appear* liable in its present state; in order to curtail, as far as I am able, an indispensably-irksome correspondence.

First, your lordship may urge, that something more than the *alleged disaffection* of the inhabitants to the Spanish government, may be necessary to *engage* or *justify* the minister, in attempting the emancipation of those provinces; since, it will be added, the gross superstition and blind obedience of the colonists to their clergy in general, and to the monks in particular—are two stupendous, nay insuperable barriers to a cordial alliance or co-operation with the declared enemies of their religion, against the government of a *catholic* king: to this specious objection I shall answer—that, admitting this reverence of the colonists even for the abuses of their religion, and their consequent idolatry to the sacred title or person of the monarch, yet as the defenseless state of these capitals arises no less from the partial, distant and ill-judged position of their works, than from the paucity, disaffection and unmilitary character of the troops, no successful opposition can be made to the well-directed approach of a regular British force; and the possession of these cities once secured, either by a voluntary or constrained surrender, a due and equal regard would, I trust, be had to the preservation of religious, civil, and military order and decorum—hence immediately to excite in *their* inhabitants, and in those of

the circumjacent country, a cordial fidelity to their new allies, or a loyal submission to their liberators, at least during the progress of the war.

To preclude every appearance of inconsistency on my part towards the colonists, I must here beg leave to re-stipulate my former distinction of ENFRANCHISEMENT* from SUBJECTION; and, as a general corollary of the plan submitted, to state the probability—that some opposition may be made by the *enregimented militia* of either garrison: *they*, we will suppose, may be compelled to repair, on the first moment of alarm, to the national standard; and to act, at least defensively, in conjunction with what is called (I apprehend by way of contradistinction only) the batallion of VETERANS; for this motley aggregate of white, black and mulatto *officers* and *soldiers*, being as despicable in numbers as in discipline, by no means deserves a moment's attention; besides, were the inhabitants either wise or daring enough to effect the seduction or expulsion of the present garrisons, on the promise or concerted arrival of a British fleet, still it would be essential, even after a peaceable surrender of these cities, to maintain at least ten companies of regulars during the war, in order to *prevent* or *resist* any subsequent attack from without;—and this same force would be fully competent to the reduction of these provinces, should even the militia prove disposed, or be compelled, to make a momentary show of resistance: thus the same force, and the same caution,

would be essential in either case; since no *promise of fidelity on their part*, would justify the smallest relaxation of political or military precaution *on that of their liberators* — until their independence on Spain should be effected and acknowledged.

As to the inhabitants of the country, dispersed as they are over an immense surface of territory, very partially cultivated, and that by negroes, *they could never be assembled in time to stem or even harrass the rapid incursion of a disciplined army*; much less could they be persuaded, unaccustomed as they are to the use of arms, and at the risk of their families and property, to approach such an army, after a successful enterprize: it is thence unnecessary, I presume, now to exhibit and detail *minutely*, in what manner a foreign force may be brought securely to operate the emancipation of these colonies, since ten companies of chosen grenadiers and light-infantry might safely set at defiance any temporary resistance of *such veterans* and militia: this I assert, my lord, after a personal and patient dinumeration of their troops and resources: the *quod dubitas ne feceris* is ever present to my imagination; but as it may not suffice that I possess the essential requisites of self-confidence and self-conviction, I do farther aver, and I will pledge my head, nay my reputation and my honour as an officer—that the sudden and hostile arrival of a British squadron on the coast, *shall produce no dangerous alarm*; because there is not a single designated or accessible height for descrying

the appearance of an enemy, at three leagues distant in the offing; and consequently there are neither established beacons nor other signals, for announcing such an event to the inhabitants of the country: neither has government a single stationary guarda-costa in the vicinity — there being no anchoring ground; and it is impossible, from the violence of the current and the frequency of calms under the land, to cruize off any given point, without making long stretches to the northward; for it is a cliff-bound coast, rarely issuing forth into capes or promontories, and affords but very few inlets or havens in a course of nearly an hundred leagues — besides these few are exclusively known to the smugglers; and the colonial despots unwilling, on the one part, to alleviate their tax-ridden vassals; and unable, on the other, to annihilate their illicit commerce — have vainly endeavoured to circumscribe its effects, by converging all the public routes on the land side to the principal entrance of each fortified sea-port: these, we find, are not the sole channels of traffic, much less are they, though imagined to be — the military keys to these delightful provinces. The temerity of Vernon — who, Braddock like, supposed that British valour rendered all the more sublime attributes of a general totally nugatory; his temerity first impressed on the Spanish cabinet and colonists, their present ideal impregnable in that quarter: this is by no means an ineradicable, though it is a deep-rooted error: it is a fortunate one at least for our

purpose, my lord; and I should be as vain as Low-
endal, like him, to have destroyed in half an hour
the prejudice of half a century. My near relation,
lieutenant-general Allan Mac Lean, was the officer
who last resisted the entry of the French into
Bergen-op-Zoom; and I venture to promise—if I
should not enhance, that I will not tarnish the
glory acquired for our family on that important day.

Still, supposing *it impossible* that, previous to an
embarkation of the troops in the islands, some un-
foreseen misconduct or mischance may serve to ad-
vertize the Spanish general of an intended descent,
yet, as there is *apparently* no choice of situations
for making a lodgement, and as we should make the
coast but a very few leagues to windward, the
course of the squadron being thence from east to
west, with an invariable trade-breeze and an uni-
formly-favourable current, a *débarquement* would
be so immediately effected, and at a point so con-
terminous with the principal object of attack—as
infallibly to cut off all hope of aid or supplies of
men or provisions from the country: I have there-
fore strictly adhered, in my present project of lodge-
ment and incursion, to the best possible defence, by
their actual garrisons (2) in these provinces.

As to the health, support and security of the king's
troops, during their service on the coast, which are
probably the next objects of your lordship's atten-
tion, I need only say, that the climate of the pro-
vinces of Cumanà and Venezuela, though generally

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confounded with those of Carthagera or Omoa, is preferable to that of the best cultivated British or French islands, which I have visited, from Barbadoes to the French Cape.—In the city of Cumana the heat is perhaps something more intense than at Saint-George's in Grenada, or at Saint-Peter's in Martinico, which are nearly in the same latitude; but the former by no means yields in salubrity to either of the latter.—The climate of Caracas is not less wholesome than wonderful, though the most wonderful I know of, its parallel and interior situation considered — from March to December of the year 1785, I never felt heat or cold in an uncomfortable degree: I had unfortunately injured a double or comparative thermometer, on my passage thither, which precluded me from making the accurate ephemeral observations I had proposed; but I was assured, by a sensible and sedulous observer, that the ordinary variation of heat—for cold, fire-places and *brazeros* are equally unknown among them—was from 19 to 23 of Reamur, nearly agreeing with 75-83 of Farenheit.

On the article of support it will suffice to say, that both cities stand in a plentiful, open and dependent country, abounding in cattle, grain, game, fruits and vegetables, as the coast does in fish—for the most ample supply of the citizens and garrisons: we may therefore resign to commissaries and quarter-masters, the modes of procuring these articles, and conducting them to the several stations; and these modes,

however local circumstances may render them extraordinary at the commencement, must, like the system of local defence and security, ever prove so natural and simple—as to render it totally unnecessary now to exhibit or premise either a plan or detail.

As to the fidelity of the inhabitants to their *heretical* allies or governors, though it cannot be with certainty predicted, it may be unquestionably secured — if any prudent and intelligent officer is appointed to the command: first, the main object of religion must be attended to: and the more early and fully to assure the tranquility and confidence of the colonists on this important point, it would be judicious—and I might say essential, to select and engage two or three Irish Roman-catholic priests of education and sound morals, who are versed in the Spanish language — and such I could particularly point out, to accompany the army—in order to quiet the minds of those people on the subject of religion; and thence to pave the way for the future progress of harmony and friendship, between catholic and protestant individuals of every rank and denomination. The Irish priests are highly and equally venerated by the Spaniards of Europe and America—besides, the granting immediate *permission* to the bishops, with all the dignified clergy who are Europeans, to retire to Spain, is a measure I would recommend—as apparently tending only to the ease and convenience of these reverend gentlemen,

whilst it really had for its joint objects the peace and safety of the army and colonists.

To enforce the policy of this measure, I must relate a very singular fact. Would your lordship believe a Franciscan monk had the audacity to assure me, in the year 1787, at the Havana; that in consequence of the exile of the bishop to Saint-Augustine in East-Florida, immediately after the capture in 1762, he had considered it his duty, notwithstanding the favourable terms obtained on the capitulation, to *persist* in the injunctions *he had given to the country-girls during the seige*—to poison the milk which was supplied to the British troops? (3) The limits of this letter will neither admit nor justify a commentary, or a submission of testimonies, on this detestable conduct; and the avowal can only be explained, by the circumstance of its having been made to me *as an American officer*; a supposed enemy to Great-Britain *even in peace*; and the then resident of a Roman-catholic colony.

The zealous monk might possibly have read, with the same enthusiasm with which Marmontel composed his poetical epistle to the cardinal de Bernis, “on the respective *political* conduct of the French and British cabinets in the preceding war,” where the ministers of the latter are characterised “*Ennemis dans la paix—dans la trêve Assassins* :” for this friar knew me to be of British extraction; and piously entailing the sins of fathers on their descendants, unto the third and fourth generations—he

imagined I should applaud a conduct, analogous to that ascribed to my ancestors. Exclamation is the voice of nature, when she is agitated or amazed; yet I was struck dumb with horror—and turned upon my heel in silent indignation!

You thus perceive, my lord, that a *previous* and *proffered licence to retire* will avert from the British governor the odious measure of a *subsequent exile*, which no motives of policy could extenuate or soften; and so far it would be an eligible military precaution. As a political one, it would leave to the Irish ecclesiastics the necessary scope for exercising their influence with the natives, as well to deracinate the prejudices of their past education, as to inculcate a due reverence for the blessings of a representative government, whilst their consequent intercourse with the British isles would enforce the advantages of that superior freedom—enjoyed by your colonists.

The vacant sees, with the colonial benefices of the other absent dignitaries and their subaltern agents, would amply defray the institution of colleges or public schools, for the instruction of the youth *indiscriminately* in the English language; whilst it would handsomely and becomingly provide for the Irish ecclesiastics—and in six months supply a tolerable interpreter, *gratis*, to almost every family. Such an appropriation of these funds, could neither excite suspicion or concern with the most conscientious or sanctimonious among them; since the utility would be immediate and progressive

with every class of citizens; and the *soli deo*, or *calotte*, of each preceptor, would prove an incontestible guarantee, that no heterodox innovations were intended on the present system of education—as far as religious tenets are involved.

Some of the young men of superior rank might thence be induced to come to England, to advance themselves in the classics and sciences; and to attain to a greater perfection in the English language: these would be hostages during their absence, and valuable agents on their return, if *properly patronized* by government during their residence in Great-Britain; instead of being first exhibited as shows, and then initiated, like the Inhabitant of Ottaheite, Omaï, into all the fashionable vices of the world's metropolis.

Prior to the departure of the bishops—to guard against any subsequent charge of usurpation on the papal authority, which a formal *suppression* of the episcopal dignity or functions would authorise—it would be requisite to induce *their nomination of two vicars-general*, vested with full powers during their absence; to these might be afterwards added a certain number of *chosen priests*, to constitute a permanent synod or council; and among the first of their pastoral functions, I should recommend some official injunction of strict observance on the part of the many wanton monks, in the discipline of their several institutions—under penalty of being exiled to Maracaybo, Carthagena, or some other Spanish port

to leeward—long habit and a tropical climate would jointly militate with their obedience and justify their banishment: in this very political regulation, and very indisputably orthodox, inasmuch as it tendeth to the conservation of morals, their known enemies the *secular* ecclesiastics may be brought most heartily to engage and assist—this, my lord, would free the land, in less than three months, and without scandal, of all the *sensible* or *seditions*: the native clergy, God help them! are not more slothful than ignorant; nor are they less pacific than dissolute; political revolt, or outrage, are therefore the only crimes or misdemeanors which may not be apprehended from them; for destitute of views, connections, or correspondence in Europe, they would content themselves under any change of governor, or government, provided only that the forms of their religion were preserved, and they themselves *duly nourished*, and secured from bodily pain or labour—since they hold their personal ease and luxury, in superior estimation to piety or public esteem; and penance and mortification, are held in equal horror with heresy or martyrdom: it would therefore prove no very difficult task to render them immediately and politically *harmless* if not *useful* citizens; and hereafter better Christians and more exemplary pastors.

The moral character of the clergy, as well as that of the lower class of inhabitants, would certainly benefit by almost any change in their present de-

testable government, which, I am sorry to say, is neither fashioned, nor was it, I apprehend, ever designed to promote or secure the temporal or eternal happiness of the vassal; for having been formed at the instigation of their governors, the monarch is not in fault: and I may safely charge all those who are in administration, civil and ecclesiastical, with a treachery to the good old sovereign—commensurate with their actual barbarity to the subjects.

You will not be surprized, my lord, that with such governors and pastors the governed should be principally distinguished by envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness. — Mr. Pope has well observed, that faults in politics are occasioned by faults in ethics, and will occasion them in their turn: for this debasement of manners in the Spanish colonists, and the profound ignorance of all ranks and orders of men among them, are fairly imputable to their present colonial system in church and state—since, “wherever politics and morality are weak, learning and *virtue* want their peaceable *genial* air to thrive in.”

To return from this moral digression to a more professional subject of examination, I shall add: that the property of the catholic king in specie, ordinance, monopolized and other effects, will, in case of resistance, be secured to the victors by right of conquest; as the inhabitants have no legal claim or pretension in their actual situation, no retributive

claim could arise out of their reduction by force; and it would neither be difficult nor ungenerous, in the event of a voluntary surrender, by a conventional reserve of this property, to make these articles contribute, and I fancy their value would amply suffice, to defray the *extra-expences* of a *general enterprize*—should this particular one be pursued in either of the modes I have suggested: besides, such produce of the country—consisting in cocoa, indigo, hides, etc. as may be found in the cities and their environs, and belonging to individuals, could be purchased by commissioners or agents, under the faith and on account of government; exported immediately, or as soon as a proper convoy presented, for Great-Britain; and the amount of the original purchase laid out in the necessary articles, as ordered by the proprietors for their consumption—This, my lord, would prove a fast bond of union between these proprietors and Great-Britain, at least till returns were made; and such a bond, as no religious or political instrument or power could sever or disunite; at the same time that articles, sold at the war price at home, would yield a nett profit of 150 or 200 per cent, on a considerable capital—for the number of ships being at all times insufficient to export the quantity of produce at market, the long-protracted menaces of a rupture must have occasioned an immense accumulation; it being customary, in time of war, to lay three or four years in all parts of the Spanish colonies—waiting for a convoy.

The

—The minister of Indies, and his minions, have a large share in commerce; but even these minions would not be disgraced by any thing like an avowed fellow-feeling with traders: and as, by a royal *fiat*, the importation duties may be augmented from 8 to 16 per cent, they will lose only so much as they may find it convenient to appear to sacrifice.—This would also contribute something handsome to the revenue, and afford an important freight for those transports which remained disengaged on the *débarquement* of such of the British troops as were to compose the remaining garrisons: it would moreover introduce an early taste and progressive demand for British manufactures, and lay the foundation of a vast commercial intercourse.

Monsieur Raynal asserts, that commerce is the chief object of all the wars in which the English engage: and the passion is so universal, that even their philosophers are not exempt from it, since the celebrated Boyle was of opinion, that it would be a laudable action in his countrymen to attempt the conversion of the savages to Christianity, were they merely to imbibe so much of it as would excite them to clothe themselves—as this would open an extensive field for the consumption of British manufactures.

It will suffice to glance over the map of the world, and consider the situation of the British isles in Europe, and the West-Indies; their sea-shore possessions of Gibraltar, Madras, and Botany-Bay,

to decide, that the protection of commerce is indissolubly rivetted in every British breast to the spirit of patriotism. How far your philosophers and politicians may have respectively contributed to the general use, which I have observed, of British manufactures, this, my lord, is not the place to determine: certain it is, that the consumption in Italy, Germany, Spain, France, Portugal, Holland, and Denmark, and in the colonies of the last five powers, is immense. In Holland it is computed, that the value of the merchandise sent there annually from Great-Britain amounts to fifty millions of florins, nearly five millions of pounds sterling; and as the raw materials of these articles do not exceed a third part of this sum—the benefit to England is truly worthy the consideration of every member of the state. Those who are the greatest admirers of Mr. Pitt, declare him the protector of British commerce, which has led me to be more prolix on this article, that the project (which needs not the aid of borrowed ornaments) might appear in its full and native garb; as most likely, in that dress, to interest the known wisdom and economy—in short, the patriotism of your minister.

Your lordship's ministerial and professional experience, will jointly suggest what may be done in the subsequent organization of the civil and military branches of government, so as to retain in the hands of his majesty's commanding officer, in the event of a voluntary surrender, the necessary share of power

for the security of the army in particular—and of the provinces in general.

Much might be added on these several points; I shall however simply repeat: that, as confident of the success as I am of the justice of the enterprize; and anxious, like Bellerophon, to free the land from civil and religious monsters, destructive to piety and the species, I would cheerfully dedicate my services, and freely expose my life, for the accomplishment of the great work: that if successful, I may participate and triumph in the happiness of those around me; and if unfortunate, that I could close my existence with the well-founded hope of being lamented and revered, as the victim of that amiable valour—which had for its chief objects the preservation and *felicity* of mankind.

Neither the minister nor my fellow-partizans can decently suspect the amplitude of my confidence, or the purity of my intentions, since, besides the danger which I am to participate in common with the latter, I venture something more than existence—my reputation as an American officer and patriot. The secrecy necessary to be observed, will preclude every sort of previous justification—on the part I have proposed to take with a *British army*, yet my patriotism will not ultimately be arraigned at the tribunals of honour and humanity; nor can I be legally condemned at any other, since we claim in common with British subjects—the benefit of trial *by our peers*: nor will your lordship be led to sup-

pose that my attachment to my native states—has been for a moment arrested, by motives of juvenile ambition, or by personal resentment against a Spanish governor: it will rather appear, that if philanthropy and the love of my country were not the *sole principles* which governed my conduct, the latter has at least been *so far predominant*, that to advance her commerce was not only a projected, but an early, and almost stipulated, point of this business. The government of the United-States, I hope, will never venture to disapprove or condemn, by any *official* act, my military exertions under the standard of my ancestors, since we have professed, in our declaration of independence, “to hold Britons, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends;” besides, to disseminate the principles of their own constitutions is the ultimate object of the enterprize, which will be so conducted—as by no means to justify either jealousy, resentment, or interference on the part of America; and should her ministerial administration, by a melancholy and censureable departure from the spirit of our laws, endeavour to suspend my well-earned rights of citizenship—I shall triumphantly though reluctantly embrace expatriation, which must then prove honourable to me in proportion as it shall be indispensable: the language of the patriotic *Sabine* will serve for a valediction and justification to my country:

— Si tu te plains que c'est-là te trahir ;
Fai-toi des ennemis—que je puisse haïr.

I must here avow, that it would be my wish and my duty to remain at Caracas, either as a province allied with or dependent on Great-Britain, during the war: in the first event I might assure myself, from the grateful esteem of the leading characters, that necessary share in the government which their suffrages as free citizens, dictated by their becoming confidence in their principal liberator, would naturally procure me; and in either case I should expect, from the equity of the minister towards me, and from a due regard to the ease and safety of the colonists, that share in the military government—as governor of the city, or general-commandant of the American forces—which would consist with the rank I should have attained to by stipulation (and which would be no more than the due reward of my previous services) with my superior knowledge of the character, territory, and language of the people, whose cause I advocate.

These circumstances, joined to my regard for the colonists, render it essential for me to insist on being a check on the arbitrary conduct of any foreign administration. A charge of ambition, if it lays, will not dishonour me: I hold to the sentence of Seneca, for I never met a laudable exception: *Tolle ambitionem et fastuosos spiritus, nullos habebis nec Scævolas—nec Scipiones—nec Fabricios.*

I have not time, my lord, to amplify or correct, or even transcribe this letter: any thing addressed for me under cover to M. Short—chargé d'affaires des

Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, à Paris, will be handed me, should I set out the next week as I intend: or it will be forwarded here, in case of a longer detention. This, my lord, may probably be my last epistolary intrusion; permit me, therefore, and in despite of etiquette, to add a very unfashionable, but a very unfeigned, valediction: God bless you, my lord! and long preserve to you that distinguished confidence on the part of the government, which acknowledged worth and genius have so early and deservedly inspired—and which equally redound to the honour of your lordship's native kingdom and illustrious house.

If I am culpable, in having preferred an affectionate to an official style, I demand and expect forgiveness: the fault did not originate with me—I could not bring myself to believe, that the manly language of sympathy and regard, in which your lordship had uniformly replied to my several letters, was the meer effect of a court-like, unmeaning civility: it is therefore to the man, and not to the minister, that I have addressed myself—during the course of this prolix correspondence; for it is only subsequent to success, that I should dare to challenge the friendship of the latter; yet have I ventured to flatter myself already on your lordship's personal esteem; and not simply because I desire it—but because I really wish to deserve it. That friendship is not the common resident of courts, is an opinion more ancient than Christianity—*veræ amicitæ ra-*

rissimè inveniuntur in iis qui in honoribus reque publica versantur: that the maxim still holds its ground, is as true as it is lamentable: I cannot, therefore, though I would willingly, contest *the rule*—for the honour of human nature; yet it is—*for the same reason*, my lord, that I now hail and embrace a *distinguished* exception, in all that cordial veneration, with which I have the honour to be your lordship's much obliged and very affectionate humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

NOTES ON THE PROJECT FOR EMANCIPATING THE PROVINCES
OF CARACAS AND CUMANA.

(1) page 20 — It was reported at this period, that Spain, from *prudential motives*, had acceded to very dishonourable terms, having consented to pay all the expences incurred or demanded by Great-Britain, during her warlike preparations: I say *dishonourable terms*, because it is since known, that Mr. Mears had not even a British flag to justify the patronage of the minister: a war, or the appearance of a war, was necessary to his views; and this was A POPULAR PRETEXT. The marquis of Lansdown, in his speech on the convention with Spain, on the 14th December 1790, very fully develops the cause of this rupture: it is too extraordinary an anecdote not to be inserted here, in his lordship's own words:

“Some young gentlemen at China, attached to Geography, and a little commercial advantage, fit out a vessel

called the Sea-Otter, for the North-West coast of America: some Bengal adventurers fit out two other ships, with fine names—UNDER PORTUGUESE PAPERS AND COLOURS: some speculative merchants, men of letters perhaps, equip two other ships, and the whole falls under the command of a young gentleman of the name of Mears, who is instructed and instructs his followers, *in terms becoming the form and pomp of office* — to violate a system regarding Spanish America, which it has been the policy of Europe, and in particular of England, to adhere to for ages:” [on the past system of the British cabinet, respecting Spain and her colonies, his lordship says — *that so long as the Spanish government holds the revenue and commerce arising from her American possessions to be preferable to the encouragement of manufactures at home, there is wisdom, IN MORE RESPECTS THAN ONE, in suffering the great stake, contained in those colonies — TO LIE TO A CERTAIN DEGREE DORMANT, IN THE HANDS OF SPAIN.*] “Mears’ MANIFEST was couched in these terms: *Russian, ENGLISH, and Spanish vessels shall be treated with equal civility in the first instance; but in case of any attempt to turn our adventurers out of their way—FORCE SHALL BE REPELLED BY FORCE; THE PARTIES TO BE SEIZED, THEIR SHIPS BROUGHT IN AND CONDEMNED AS PRIZES, AND THEIR CREWS AS PIRATES. In planting a factory we declare, that we look to a solid establishment, and not to one to be abandoned at pleasure.*”

Lord Lansdown adds: “we thus find occurrences, arising out of the enterprize of a few individuals, *legan without any due warrant for it*, or any proper subordination to the public at large — FORMED THE OSTENSIBLE PRETEXT OF A DISSENSION WITH SPAIN: England armed in a manner regardless of expence, and summoned Spain to submit in a manner alike unprecedented and insulting: the convention

tion then followed, which parliament, with pretty much the same peremptoriness, is called on to approve."

(2) Page 40—In the whole province of Caracas, there are not a thousand troops: these are stationed at SANTIAGO DE LEON DE CARACAS, the capital; at LA GUAYRA, the immediate sea-port; and at PUERTO CABELLO, several leagues to leeward. The city of Santiago is situated on a vast and open plain, without a single fortification—*La Guayra being supposed the only possible key of entrance*: the greater part of the veteran troops are in the numerous castles and works of this port, or road, *and do not defend the capital—but depend on it for supplies*. Such is the intense heat of this walled-town, lying on the sea-shore and under a cloud-capt mountain, that salt provisions will not keep there: cattle therefore are driven once a week, *without provender or water*, to be confined in a large court, until they are all killed! the only route from this port to the capital, is across this mountain, called LA SILLA DE CARACAS: you ascend a very steep acclivity for a league and a half, and then descend for the same distance to the city: on the summit there is no fortification: the road is so narrow, and *so nearly a precipice*, that mules alone are or can be employed to carry burdens: there are drovers twice a week, on stated days, which arrive with hides, indigo, and other productions of the province, to the magazines of La Guayra; and return to the city with merchandize.

— The following official return to the captain-general exhibits their provincial force in 1785.

Veteran Infantry— <i>Infanteria Veterana</i>	749
Veteran Artillery— <i>Artilleria Veterana</i>	100
Dragoons— <i>Cavalleria</i>	150
Total of military force	999

There are of incorporated militia.....	4800
Militia artillery.....	400
Negro and Mulatto officers and men (<i>Morenos</i>)...	300
Total of armed men in the province.....	6499

So much for Caracas: as to Cumanà, *El Golfo de Cariaco*, and the battery on the shore, are supposed capable of defending the city: the latter, however, may be taken *à dos*, and in five minutes—by fifty men; and the gulph, so far from being a barrier, may be gained at the very point where the market-boats are moored, without the possibility of opposition; and thus rendered useful in transporting the troops, as it would shorten their march by a few leagues, and land them in inevitable triumph. This can only be explained on the map, where the success of a *coup-de-main* may be indisputably demonstrated.

(3) Page 43—Though the pious fervor, with which the fryar had boasted his share in this atrocious act, could leave me no room to doubt of the truth of his assertion; yet I felt the necessity of procuring some corroborant testimony—before I ventured to become a vehicle to the public of so incredible a fact. I remembered that general Lee had mentioned to me a similar *war-stratagem*—though Polyen or Frontinus would have disdained to rank it in that class of actions—as it was practised at the same period, by the same agents, and under injunctions of the same order of men, I shall relate it minutely.

When the Spaniards had arrived to the confines of Estremadura, bordering on the province of Alentejo in Portugal, an offer was made to Count de la Lippe, the commander in chief of the Portuguese army, by a Franciscan fryar—to send a number of *diseased girls* to the Spanish camp, with such supplies as might render their presence an

object of personal traffic and profit; advising, that an attack should be made on the enemy's out-posts, in the evening, so as to force these impure women to pass the night in the Spanish camp; a loud laugh was the first effect produced in Burgoyne and Lee, on the Count's communication of this stratagem: when laughter had subsided, the Hero of Villa Vella disdained, like his Roman model, to stoop to so base a means of victory, even in a defensive war. Lee, therefore, cited the example of the generous conduct of Curius to Pyrrhus*—and proposed sending the fryar under an escort to the Spanish general: the count was content, on dismissing him, to blame his *unwarrantable* zeal; "it is not so *unwarrantable*, cried the Fryar — *and it shall be employed*; if the Spaniards do not employ the same means I propose, it is because they have less ingenuity:" *I find*, said the count, *there is much truth in the adage: "take from a Castilian all his virtues — and you make a complete Portuguese."*

I have since found the execution of this stratagem, detailed in a book called "La Code de Prostitution;" in page 105, it is declared as a case of conscience propounded to an ecclesiastical council in Lisbon—by which it was declared to be legal and practicable. From these anecdotes, my lord, I will conduct you to a relation of historical facts, to prove that effects—*such as usually proceed from poison*—were seen in the British camp before the Havana, during the seige; and subsequent to the surrender: they are very impartially related, as the writer never imagined the source . . . from whence they probably flowed.

* Qui porrò ipsi Duces, vel in Castris? quum Medicum venale regis Pyrrhi caput offerentem --- Curius remissit. . . . quis ergo miretur his moribus, virtute, militia, victorem populum Romanum fuisse? FLORUS, BEL. CUM PYR REGE.

Major Mante, who served as Assistant-Engineer in the army of lord Albemarle, relates the following symptoms — of what he supposes a mere effect of the climate, which is an excellent one: [in the year 1780, the births in the city of the Havana were 1918, the deaths only 1062 — though there were so many residents in a state of celibacy, and so many unmarried and debauched Creoles and Europeans, who annually arrive and sojourn in this city, besides the military and naval forces, at all times attached to this port and garrison, to increase the bills of mortality.]

Major Mante, book x, of his "History of the late War in America," from 1754 to 1764, observes — "Of the vast catalogue of human ills, thirst is the most intolerable. On this occasion (during the siege of the Morro) it soon caused the tongue to swell, extend itself without the lips, and become black as in a state of mortification; then the whole frame became a prey to the most excruciating agonies, till death at length intervened, and gave the unhappy sufferers relief." This may have proceeded from thirst — as the patients are described in a progressive decline, under a continuation of the supposed cause of their disorder, from the first stage of illness to that of dissolution --- *though arsenick operates precisely in the same way*; but I cannot suppress my astonishment that sea-bathing, as recommended by Doctor Franklin; and the masticatory palliation of thirst, in well-known practice among American hunters, should be neglected by Sir Clifton Wintringham, director-general, and first physician to the hospital: the sea was within a stone's throw, and every soldier had a leaden ball in his cartouch-box! --- the following symptoms and effects are of another and less natural complexion.

"A greater number, adds Major Mante, fell victims to a

putrid fever: from the appearance of perfect health — ~~the~~ or four short hours robbed them of life: many there were, who indured a loathsome disease for days, nay weeks together, living in a state of putrefaction. The fifth brigade was embarked for North-America; but most of them died in the passage, or in the hospitals, immediately on their arrival.”--- It must be observed, that the whole force employed against the Havana amounted to 4,610 land troops, and 9,000 seamen and mariners, making in all 13,610---of which 8,000 were laid up in the hospitals!

Thus have I impartially detailed the facts, on which my counsel is founded; and as it merely tends to excite a prudential line of conduct in the British commander in chief, whence necessarily to avert from his administration every motive or pretext to revenge or persecution, I shall not be blamed, my lord, for having been thus prolix and minute: nor can I suffer myself to be suspected of having implied the most distant charge on the Roman pontiff, or on the king of Spain --- as encouraging any acts so unbecoming of those august Depositories of the papal or regal power: the same fanatic spirit which hastened the death of Ganganelli, and plunged a dagger in the breast of the last Most Christian King, is a sufficient testimony --- that bigot assassins do not require authority to prompt them to the murder of the most sacred members of their own church or state: and when this fact shall be known to the Feijoos, Sarmientos or Iriartes of Spain, they will be as ready as Florus to avenge the honour of their government, by fixing on the delinquent, as the Roman historian did on Aquilius, the stamp of infamy due to his violation of the laws of nations and of nature, in poisoning several fountains of water to hasten the surrender of the town he was besieging: *quæ res ut ma-*

turam, ita infamem fecit victoriam : quippe quum contra fas Deum, morésque majorum, medicaminibus impuris— IN ID TEMPUS SACROSANCTA ROMANA ARMA VIOLASSET.

Thus far I had written, as a military man, to Lord Robert Fitzgerald—to illustrate the advantages of the project I had conceived: it still remains to add a few facts to justify me, as a philanthropist—in having sought to liberate the Spanish colonists, whom I very truly pity, from the galling yoke of their provincial rulers—even by force of arms; but as these will appear at large in my notes on a work I have translated from the Spanish, being “An Idea of the Value of Saint-Domingo, written by Don Antonio Sanchez Valverde in 1785,” I must now forbear from a more minute detail of the extreme misery of the Spanish colonists: it will suffice to say, though Spain holds two thirds of the cultivable soil of the island, yet this establishment costs every year 250 thousand dollars, *more than a million of livres*—being the amount of the SITUADO, or annual donation made by the king; whilst French Saint-Domingo, in 1788, yielded 6,924,166 livres of *octroi*, or duties, to government, on the various productions of the colony, of which the total value, in the same year, was 179,383,396 livres. The Spaniards have only fourteen thousand blacks and mulattoes, of which only seven or eight are slaves; they have not one plantation of any consequence; and as all their specie goes to the French, they have only a depreciated paper currency, so that when the SITUADO arrives, they ring the bells and make a public rejoicing—yet they are in possession of this colony more than three centuries! The French, though they cannot properly be said to be a colony, but since the peace of Utrecht in 1713, which secured the throne of Spain to the

duke of Anjou, they have the following population and wealth: in 1788—30,826 white inhabitants, omitting the troops, sea-forces, mariners, and transient persons, holding no property and paying no taxes: 24,848 free negroes and mulattoes; 434,429 slaves; 793 sugar-estates; 3,150 indigo-estates; 789 cotton-plantations; 3,117 coffee-estates, and 54 of cocoa; with 520 water-mills and 1,639 cattle-mills; 46,823 mules; 36,782 horses; and 243,682 other animals. In Spanish Saint-Domingo all is want and misery; in the French part, ease and wealth are universally perceptible. Even in the island of Cuba, where there are 200,000 head of cattle, they have no fresh butter! rancid salt butter, carried from Ireland to Spain, and thence to the Havana, is their only resource in this article, of which they consume a vast deal. It was not till the year 1763, on the suggestion of some British residents, that they carried some-hives of bees from East-Florida: their immense consummation of wax-lights was formerly supplied, at an amazing expence, from Europe; but in 1788 they not only produced enough for their own use, but exported 313,750 pounds weight, of a quality equal to that of Venice: these facts are a sufficient evidence of the laudable drift of my project, of which one great end was an introduction among the colonists of arts and industry, thus rendering their own productions more beneficial to themselves and to mankind in general: an ill-judged privilege respecting slaves (which, *from the motive*, does honour to the sovereign) joined to the bashaw rapacity of the greedy governors sent among them, have hitherto made these establishments a source of endless expence to government, and of unspeakable misery to the colonists: when made happy, they will be loyal: ID FIRMISSIMUM LONGÈ IMPERIUM EST—QUO OBEDIENTES CAUDENT.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM CARMICHAEL, ESQUIRE, MINISTER
RESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE COURT OF SPAIN,
TO COLONEL EUSTACE, AT THE ROYAL SEAT OF SAINT-
ILDEFONSO.

Madrid, 21st August, 1787.

I SEND you, my dear Sir, the inclosed letters for the persons I mentioned: you will find the chevalier Andiaga at the secretary of state's office, after ten in the morning; and you can direct one of the porters to call him out to speak to you. The best hour to find the Russian minister (*Mr. Zinowieff*) at home, will be between eleven and twelve—that is before he goes to court.

Sir Alexander Monro informed me, that he had given you a letter for Mr. Liston, (*the British ambassador*), which now renders one from me unnecessary: with a wish that you may not be exposed "to live the pelting of a pitiless storm," like that we experienced to-day, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

W. CARMICHAEL.

MR. CARMICHAEL TO COLONEL EUSTACE, AT SAINT-ILDEFONSO.

Madrid, 1st September 1787.

YOU will excuse, my dear Sir, my omission in not answering last night your favour of the 30th ultimo, when you know that I have been so indisposed since wednesday last, as not to have it in my power to attend to the most urgent business.

I am

I am happy to find, that you are satisfied with the minister's conduct, and that of those about him.

Mr. Zinoweiff wrote me, that you had been to see him; but that he did not know where to find you, or even whether you was still at the *Sitio*: had I been there myself, I should have presented you agreeable to your desire to the French ambassador; but as I have never taken the liberty hitherto of introducing by letter any person, merely as a matter of etiquette, either to the former or actual ambassador, you will please to admit my excuse for not deviating from my general line of conduct.

I have the honour to be, with much respect, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

W. CARMICHAEL.

MR. CARMICHAEL TO COLONEL EUSTACE, AT MADRID.

Royal Seat of Aranjuez, 28th April 1788.

WANT of time, dear Sir, and not of inclination, had prevented me from answering your favour of the 26th; you will easily conceive, that with little essential business on my hands, visits, the court, immense and tedious dinners, and numberless *etceteras* of the first days of my arrival here, have been fully sufficient to give me occupation, if not in the way I like, still however in the line of what others think their duty, and I of course must consider as mine, for I am not a reformer; but let the world lead, and I follow the beaten path as

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the best, although we are told, "strait and rugged is the path of heaven." I have struggled in my life so often against what I thought adversity, and which finally proved otherwise, that my patience is founded on experience and habitude, I therefore claim no merit. I am perfectly resigned to all that may happen to me; but my philosophy doth not reach so far, as to teach me to bear adversity arising from what is styled bad fortune, or from the malice of others, without striving to extricate myself *coûte que coûte*; and I have never yet felt better spirits than when I have had something to rouse my NATURAL feelings, I mean those of twenty-five, when I trod in air at opposition. I will not advise you to follow my example, for your own heart can best dictate to you what you ought, and your reason will tell you what you can do. I let the one advise me as a mistress who loves me passionately; I consult the other as an old, prudent and good friend: sometimes the one, sometimes the other prevails: the wisest of us all do no more, and perhaps can do no better.

This place is enchanting at present: it breathes health and pleasure; I wish you both. Adieu, yours

W. CARMICHAEL.

MR. CARMICHAEL TO COLONEL EUSTACE, AT MADRID.

Aranjuez, 4th May 1788.

AS I have not merited, my dear Sir, the partial sentiments that your last favour expresses of me, I can only say, that the good opinion of those

whom I have esteemed, has ever been a stimulus to encourage me to merit their future approbation. In this light I shall always consider yours. Time and circumstances may give you more mature ideas of my character; but no length of time will efface from my mind—that you was disposed to think well of it.

On my part, these are the last effusions of self-love, for I fear they are such from a certain secret satisfaction that I feel, (although I do not approve that feeling) from the good will of others towards me.

I have had the visit of a countryman, a Mr. Symonds, recommended to my notice by Mr. Jefferson. He will wait upon you to-morrow, at Madrid: he is a pretty young man, and I believe you will be glad to be useful to him, as far as you can extend the sphere of utility. I am always sincerely yours,

W. CARMICHAEL.

MR. CARMICHAEL TO COLONEL EUSTACE, AT BILBAO.

Madrid, 4th August 1788.

MR. YOUNG, my dear Sir, informed me of his having had the pleasure of meeting you at Bayonne, otherwise I should have been uneasy not to have heard from you directly. I highly approve your intention of returning to America: with your talents, and with your application, I am persuaded you must succeed in any line of life which you will

invariably pursue: be not led astray by the dæmon of inconstancy.

My situation is much the same as it was when you left me. I have however hope confirmed by recent assurances. I have seen colonel Pineda; but I must own with shame that I have not seen him so often as I might have done: we are too often the slaves of incidents. I have not seen Gardoqui for some days, and Rendon is in the country *à la chasse*: this week I set out for Saint-Ildefonso, where I shall remain until the end of September, with my good and amiable friend the minister of Genoa, (*Signor Pietro Paolo Celesia*) whose conversation is a constant source of pleasure and instruction: I have never known a man with so much wit and so little malice.

Your letters will always give me pleasure, and, when you please, information; you see therefore that I am an egoist in desiring a continuance of your correspondence, for the only returns in my power to make, are and will be sincere wishes for your future prosperity in an active life, and afterwards *otium cum dignitate*. The young lady seems to receive your remembrance of her with pleasure. Adieu, yours affectionately,

W. CARMICHAEL.

MR. CARMICHAEL TO COLONEL EUSTACE, AT BORDEAUX.

Madrid, 20th May, 1790.

MR. SHEIL gave me, my dear Sir, a paper from you, containing information for which I beg you to accept my thanks. I have never had any advice from Mr. Jefferson, that he had received a cypher for me; we have one established between us, so *that* which you mention must be from America. I wish it could have been sent by Mr. Sheil, it would have arrived in perfect safety.

I beg you by return of post to favour me with as many particulars on this subject as may have come to your knowledge. I have another to ask you: I received last month a dispatch, dated seventeen months ago, which passed through the hands of a Mr. Berard of l'Orient: I wish you to know, by the means of your friends at Bordeaux, how and when he received the packet in question. It came safe and unopened, and was entrusted by a partner of the house to a chevalier Pilgrom, consul-general of the late emperor in all the ports of the East-Indies.

I certainly never wrote, that I was sorry to quit Madrid to return to America. If I can be in any manner useful to the houses you mention, I shall be happy that they will make use of me; in the mean time, have the goodness to return my thanks for their obliging offers. I have been unwell all the winter, and lately have had a violent attack of a bilious and nervous fever, of which I am now recovering. As

I go to *Aranjuez* to-morrow, your answer will find me there. *A very little time will decide, whether we shall have peace or war in this country.* Adieu, my friend,

W. CARMICHAEL.

RICHARD HARRISON, ESQUIRE, LATE OF CADIZ, AND ACTUALLY
AUDITOR-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, TO COLONEL
EUSTACE, AT MADRID.

Cadiz, 15th January 1788.

IT will no doubt appear somewhat strange to you, my dear Eustace, that I should sit down at this late period to write you my first letter; but a few words only will be sufficient to justify my silence. On my arrival at Lisbon, I was told you had set out for Madrid: when I came here, one of my first enquiries was concerning you; and the only intelligence I could obtain was, that you had made a visit to Cadiz, *en passant*, had continued your route for Madrid—and thence marched off, much indisposed, for France.

Thus having been for this month past on an excursion into the country, I knew not what had really become of you, or where to take my aim until to-day, that I am, with other letters received in my absence, delivered your favour dated the 10th of some month, which I suppose to be December. As to the main object of your journey, I cannot say that your disappointment surprises me; and I believe

I intimated my doubts from the first moment of our confidence: upon the whole, perhaps, it is *tout pour le mieux*: at any rate you must endeavour to think so, for there is no better remedy for evils of this, or indeed of any other kind.

I observe you have had a severe indisposition at Madrid: you scarce deserve pity, for your imprudence merited an early chastisement: as evil, however, sometimes produces good, let us hope that this lesson will make you more circumspect in future. I am very glad to find my friend Carmichael has been so attentive to you: he is certainly the deserving character you describe him, and I have a great, very great regard for him. This letter will go to his care: in case you should have decamped, he will know where to direct for you.

You best know your prospects at Paris—I wish they may be realized; but though I have no great intercourse with the *Grands*, I think I know them sufficiently to place but little confidence in their promises or counsels. The good sense which determined you to cut matters short at Madrid, I hope will guide you in France; and I approve highly of your resolution, in case of further disappointment, to embark for America: there, with your talents and usual application, *with less gallantry*, I think I could venture to answer for your success in almost any line: at least you cannot, my friend, doubt of my best wishes—it is the interest I take in your fortunes, and the knowledge I have of your heart,

which induce me to speak more freely than I perhaps ought, or would to another.

As to myself, I shall only say, that I am as happy as the times will permit, among my friends here: I propose, however, to leave them some time this spring for America, whether to return to them or not will depend on future public and private arrangements. Let me hear from you again, and believe me very sincerely yours,

R. HARRISON.

MR. HARRISON TO COLONEL EUSTACE, AT MADRID.

Cadiz, 1st February 1788.

I FIND by yours of the 22d past, you are still, my dear Eustace, at Madrid: the account you give me of your returning health, makes me very happy, and I shall be still more so, should the severe tryal you have undergone, confirm you in the wholesome resolution you declare to have taken in consequence of it. Be watchful however, and keep a check upon your usual vivacity: you are going to visit a country (*France*) famous for dissipation; and where *you* will have powerful allurements to combat.

I am almost ashamed to own that I have not yet sought an opportunity of speaking to Mr. Duff about your books; but I shall see him to-morrow, and will remind him of his promise. I told you in a former letter, all that I had to say on so barren a subject

subject as myself: as to any service I can render you, you know, my friend, that you may command me as far as my feeble influence extends. Having much to write to-day, your goodness will excuse my not entering more fully on subjects that might lead me too far, especially as I have not the rapid quill of a Eustace: for the present then, let this suffice. I shall not fail to make your compliments to the different friends you mention: they often enquire after you—and among others none more frequently than doctor Hearne. Assure yourself that I am, with much real regard, dear Eustace, sincerely yours,

R. HARRISON.

MR. HARRISON TO COLONEL EUSTACE, AT MADRID.

Cádiz, 21st March, 1788.

BY some neglect in the post-office, yours of the 22d ultimo, did not reach me, my dear friend, till last post-day: sorry I am to find by it, that you are still in the same deplorable situation. Half your sufferings—if they are not, as I hope they are, painted in too lively colours—would have killed me; but you have, I know, spirits to carry you through every thing; and I trust they will stick by you, until they snatch you safely out of a country—you have such cruel reasons to remember.

I am not so much to be envied as you seem to think: it is true I have many friends here, and receive from them every mark of cordiality I could

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wish; but the reflexion that my affairs suffer for want of my presence in another quarter, too often steals in upon me, and throws a damp upon my greatest pleasures: but patience! I am resolved to correct my nature as far as possible, and hereafter endeavour to act the philosopher in all situations of life.

I thank you for your communication respecting the back settlers: should they carry their projects or rather threats into execution (and I think them very capable of it) it may lead to a more extensive field, than is at present imagined—and *you ought to be in it*. Pray tell Mr. Carmichael, that I am half disposed to quarrel with him: I wrote him at the same time I did you, and have not heard a syllable from him since: he did not use to be so parcimonious of his time and quills with me; and he ought to remember, I am still the same Harrison he ever knew me. Doctor Hearne got his letter from you, as soon as I did mine: I spoke to Mr. Duff about your books; he says they shall go to Madrid by the very first opportunity.

When or whether ever we are to meet in America, or whether I am to end my days there, or in some distant clime, God only knows! I have as yet no *positively fixed plan*; and must be guided, in some measure, by the chapter of accidents: but what I certainly know is, that however Fate disposes of me—you will ever have the best wishes of yours sincerely,

R. HARRISON.

EDWARD CHURCH, ESQUIRE, OF BOSTON — NOW CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED-STATES, IN THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL — TO COLONEL EUSTACE.

Bordeaux, 18th February 1792.

I Cannot reflect without pain, my dear Eustace, on the loss which I must unavoidably suffer by your approaching departure; yet, upon more mature reflection, I cannot but blush at the narrowness of such an idea; then my soul expands, and admits new and more liberal sentiments — such as are truly worthy you and me: I consider that *here* your talents are “hid in a napkin”—but when arrived, where they cannot fail to be discovered, they must ultimately insure to the possessor honours and rewards.

You are going, my dear friend, where you must be prepared to stem a torrent: mankind are too prone to believe, *or at least to harbour*, ill reports—and hard is the task to erase old and rooted impressions: I thought experience had taught me a better lesson; yet there was a time, Eustace, when my prejudices wronged you — notwithstanding I had been long convinced, that COMMON FAME IS A COMMON LIAR.

You will consider that, when you left America, you were too young to have formed any known or fixed character: that you had never been stationary, and therefore not in a situation to make fast friends; and that you early possessed talents, frequently tending to excite envy and jealousy; by these has your

character been painted, and not from the life— which I am happy to be convinced is a perfect contrast: you will therefore not be offended at my candour, but be prepared to meet some few mortification in the beginning of your career, which I hope and doubt not will end gloriously. You want only to be known, to be universally esteemed and cordially caressed— I thank God for the opportunity of knowing you, before your departure; and that my heart at least can do you justice.

You will recollect, that it is not by resenting injuries in America that they are to be effaced— nor will fighting be considered any proof of your innocence, or virtue; it will rather tend to rivet than remove unfavourable impressions in the minds of the inhabitants of the northern states: you should not be offended with good men, because they have been deceived; they will always be disposed to repair the injury, and to do you ample justice—when they are better informed: therefore take heed, lest the keenness of your sensibility should precipitate you too far: your feelings may sometimes be wounded, not with design—but from a want of sense and feeling in others:

ÆQUAM MEMENTO REBUS IN ARDUIS SERVARE MENTEM: bear and forbear: and your abilities—information—application and promptitude, rare concomitants! your patriotism—temperance—benevolence—candour and obliging disposition, which are striking traits in your character, as they cannot be concealed, so they

cannot fail sooner or later of meeting some, though not always a due reward—*Courage, mon ami!* and you will soon be able to say: *experti invicem sumus, ego et fortuna.*

When I took up my pen, I intended only to ask you to dinner to-morrow; but I have inadvertently been led from my mark, *à la Chouquet*; to return, *as he says*, to the point, let me see you as often as possible before your departure, and dine with me at least seven times per week. With the purest sentiments of esteem and most ardent wishes for your prosperity I am, my dear Eustace, your affectionate friend and servant,

EDWARD CHURCH.

This letter was replied to verbally: had I fallen in any action of the war, it would have been found with the following inscription—in humble testimony of my grateful veneration for the amiable and accomplished author:

—ABEO: ET REVOCAS.....JUBESQUE
ESSE IN AMICORUM NUMERO. MAGNUM HOC EGO DUCO,
QUOD PLACUI TIBI, QUI TURPI SECERNIS HONESTUM,
NON FAMA MENDACE—SED VITA ET PECTORE PURO.

The following certificate of my services in the armies of America, was delivered to the minister of war, when I requested leave to serve in the armies of France—as a volunteer.

*Bordeaux. Chancery of the Consulate of the
United-States of America.*

WHEREAS John Skey Eustace, esquire, citizen of the United States of America, now at Bordeaux, hath called on us officially to verify and declare his rank, services, and character in the said United-States: We Joseph Fenwick, consul for the said nation, do therefore certify and make known to all whom it may in any wise concern, that the following original documents have been duly exhibited for our examination and instruction: (to wit.)—A resolution of the general Congress of the said United-States, dated on the 7th day of November, 1777, signed by his Excellency Henry Laurens, then president thereof, according the rank of major, *by brevet*, in the army of the said United-States, to major John Skey Eustace—for his honourable, brave and faithful services, as aide-de-camp to general Lee and general Sullivan in the preceding campaigns—to which is annexed the said *brevet*, under the signature of the said president; together with a certificate of colonel John Mitchell, then deputy quarter-master general of the said United-States' army, of having paid to major John Skey Eustace, 500 dollars, in compensation for a horse, shot under him in the action of German-Town, on the 4th October 1777, when acting as aide-de-camp to major-general Sullivan—agreeable to a resolution of the said general Congress.

—The appointment of major John Skey Eustace, to

the majority of the 4th regiment of continental troops, in the service of the state of Georgia, by the *unanimous* vote of the general-assembly thereof, on the third February 1778; together with a certificate from colonel John White, commandant of the brigade of said state, of major Eustace's having behaved and acquitted himself with honour, becoming a good officer and friend to the American cause, during the service under his command, till the 15th June 1779, the date of said major's departure for the northern army.

—A commission, on parchment, with the seal of war and ordnance, dated the 23d January 1780, and signed in the name of the general Congress of the United-States by his excellency Samuel Huntingdon, then president thereof, confirming the said major Eustace, as major in the army of the said United-States, and to take rank as such from the 7th of November 1777, the date of his former *brevet*.

—A vote of thanks to major John Skey Eustace, by the chamber of the senate and house of general assembly of the state of Maryland, on the 2d of February 1781, for his conduct and bravery, as a volunteer under the command of captain Reveilly, on board an armed sloop of said state, in a severe action in the bay of Chesapeake, with a British privateer of much superior force — on the 10th of January preceding.

—The commission of adjutant-general of the military forces of the state of Georgia, with the rank of colonel, to John Skey Eustace, esquire, dated on the

29th day of August 1781, and signed by his excellency Nathan Brownson, then governor and commander in chief thereof.

—A diploma, under the great seal of the state of Georgia, appointing colonel John Skey Eustace, to negotiate public business with his excellency lieutenant-general Tonyn, governor and commander in chief of the British province of East-Florida, at Saint-Augustine, in the name of his excellency John Martin, then governor and commander in chief of said state, dated on the 7th December 1782.

—A testimonial, under the great seal of the state of Georgia, with the signature of his excellency John Houstoun, governor and commander in chief thereof, authenticating an *unanimous* vote of the house of general assembly, for the admission of colonel John Skey Eustace to the practice of law in the several courts of the state, on the 19th January 1784.

—And a commission of delegation, by the military society of the Cincinnati of the state of Georgia, dated on the 19th April 1784, to represent them in the general convention of the several state deputies, held at Philadelphia in the month of May following, for the revision and reform of the original institution: We therefore, by these presents, do officially authenticate and make known the several documents herein referred to, and cited, all due faith and credit being of course to be had and given, as of right and custom belongs, to this our declaration, signed with our hand, and sealed with our arms, this 24th day of June, 1791.

JOSEPH FENWICK.

MONSIEUR SERVAN, MINISTER OF WAR, TO COLONEL EUSTACE
OF THE UNITED-STATES, AT PARIS.

*Paris, 5th June, 1792.
4th year of Liberty.*

I HAVE made known, Sir, to the king the desire you have manifested of serving, *as a volunteer*, in the armies of France—for the support and defence of her liberties and of the constitution which has been adopted.

His majesty, Sir, has the more readily accepted this proposal, as he is persuaded this cause could not have a more eligible auxiliary—than a founder of American liberty: it is, therefore, with great pleasure that I inform you his majesty permits you to serve, with your rank of colonel, in the army commanded by marshal Luckner, to whom I notify this permission.

J. SERVAN.

MONSIEUR SERVAN TO MARSHAL LUCKNER, COMMANDER IN
CHIEF OF THE NORTHERN-ARMY, IN FRENCH FLANDERS.

*Paris, 5th June 1792.
4th year of Liberty.*

MARSHAL LUCKNER,

Colonel Eustace, of the United-States, having requested permission to serve in the armies of France—as a *volunteer*; and without being attached to any particular corps—I thought it my duty to pro-

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pose to the king to accept this offer, and to approve my wish, that he might be employed in the army under your command. — His majesty having given his consent, I now announce it to colonel Eustace, and hasten to have the honour of communicating it to you.

I promise myself, marshal Luckner, that you will employ with advantage an officer who manifests so much affection towards France — and so much zeal in the cause of her freedom.

J. SERVAN.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MONSIEUR SERVAN TO MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER BERTHIER, CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE NORTHERN-ARMY, AT LILLE.

Paris, 6th June 1792,

4th year of Liberty.

I HAVE received, Sir, the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the 4th instant — I send to the marshal the commissions of adjutants-general which have been applied for: you will also find one for colonel Eustace, of America, a very distinguished officer — whose zeal and ardour to serve in our armies, *as a volunteer*, merit every mark of regard, together with our highest elogiums.

I particularly recommend, that you may give him such a reception as he, in every respect, deserves.

J. SERVAN.

INSTRUCTION FOR COLONEL EUSTACE, FROM MAJOR-GENERAL
ALEXANDER BERTHIER, CHIEF OF THE GENERAL-STAFF IN
THE ARMY OF THE NORTH.

Colonel Eustace will leave Menin to-day, 20th of June, escorted by a detachment of four dragoons, commanded by a brigadier: he will go out by the Gate-of-Lille, and after having passed the bridge on the Lys, he will reconnoitre the road which leads from Menin to Courtray—on the right bank of the river. He will inform himself, whether there are any bridges, ferries, or fords, on the Lys; and if any are reported to him, he will go and reconnoitre them.

Colonel Eustace, after having extended his researches as far as Courtray, will return to Menin; and make me a written report of his observations—and of the state of the road.

ALEX. BERTHIER.

GENERAL PASSPORT TRANSMITTED WITH THE
ABOVE INSTRUCTION.

The Nation—the Law—the King.

NICHOLAS LUCKNER, marshal of France, grand-cross of the order of Saint-Louis, commander in chief of the army of the North:

WE order all those, who are under our command, and we request all those whom it may concern — to suffer freely to pass Mr. Eustace, co-

lonel attached to the general-staff of the army of the North, with the persons who accompany him ; and to pass and repass in all places, and at such times as he shall judge necessary, for the service of the army.

Given at Menin, the twentieth day of June 1792, the 4th year of liberty.

The marshal of France, commander in chief of the army,

(L.S.)

LUCKNER.

REPORT MADE BY COLONEL EUSTACE—TO MAJOR-GENERAL
ALEXANDER BERTHIER.

Head-Quarters, Menin, 20th June 1792.

4th year of Liberty—at 5 o'clock, p. m.

IN obedience, General, to the order, with which you honoured me this morning, I left head-quarters about noon, with the passport of marshal Luckner — escorted by a brigadier and four dragoons and accompanied by a *guide du pays*:—having passed the Lille-gate and bridge, I entered on the high-road of Courtray, at about 1000, or 1200 paces from the bridge ; and pursued it, on the right bank of the Lys, as far as the city of Courtray. In order to instruct myself, *en route*, and as promptly as was possible, on the objects of my mission, I advanced two dragoons about an hundred paces—giving them orders to stop, *without violence*, all the country-people who crossed the high-road : the replies of

these travellers agreeing perfectly with my own observations, as well as with the information I had received from the several persons whom I questioned at their respective houses; I have the honour to assure you; that,

ON THE RIVER—in the entire distance from Menin to Courtray, there is not a single bridge, or ferry, or ford: and although it may with facility be approached, at any given point; yet the wide ditches and rivulets, which issue from, or disembody into, it—render it impossible to follow the bank, between the high-road and the stream: these ditches and rivulets are numerous, and some of them are of sixty feet wide—they are called *becques*, or *becks*, by the Flemings.

THE ROAD—though it is only paved from Marcke to Courtray, being the post-road from Lille to this last city, is perfectly good; and with very little reparation, between Reckem and Menin, may serve for the passage of the troops, artillery and equipage of the whole army. The Austrian dragoons, which were posted between Lauwe and Courtray, during our march on Monday last, had broken up the pavement in several places; but the neighbouring peasants have taken care to fill up the holes, and repair the ways—for their own convenience.

THE INHABITANTS have that *forced complaisance*, which is naturally to be expected from any civilized people, surrounded by contending enemies; but I am very far from advising—that any confidence

should be reposed in them: At Lauwe and at Marcke I waited on the mayors, to obtain the best intelligence they could afford me on the object of the mission I was honoured with: I at the same time charged them, to assure the inhabitants of the protection promised them by the French nation; and referred them to the orders of marshal Luckner, which are to the same effect: having arrested and brought with me a traveller, returning from Menin without any sort of passport, I took the liberty, general, in order to contribute as far as depended on me—to realize all the benevolent intentions of our illustrious chief, to request that the mayors would advertize the people of their respective jurisdictions, how necessary it was for such as entered the camps or lines to have some certificate of their places of residence; and of their motives for travelling in the immediate neighbourhood of the army: I acquainted them with the marshal's positive orders on this subject; observing to them, that it would be particularly painful to those officers who had come to their protection, to find themselves constrained to retain or delay the country people; and thus, in separating them from their homes, give uneasiness to their families and neighbours: the magistrates seemed sensible of this mark of attention to the repose of the people; and I trust, by paying a due regard to the preservation of their persons and properties, we may *henceforth* assure ourselves of their perfect *neutrality*.

—At Lauwe the mayor is a M. Valcké; at Marcke, a M. Van Belleghem; the first is an intelligent man, the second an honest farmer: *and both are esteemed by their neighbours.*

I am grateful, general, for all the civilities you have heaped on me, and for the indulgence you have constantly shewn me: I therefore entreat you to employ me, *soon and often*, on some théâtre more fertile of events—than the route from Menin to Courtray is at this moment: this request is dictated by my wish of having frequent opportunities for evincing my prompt obedience as a soldier; and that personal consideration, with which I have the power to be, general, your very affectionate adjoint,

J. S. EUSTACE.

ORDER TO RECONNOITRE THE ENEMY'S ARRIVAL FROM
TOURNAY.

Army of the North.

General-Staff.

Camp of Menin, 23d June 1792, &c.

THE détachment of thirty dragoons with their officers, posted at the college of Menin, will march by the Gate-of-Lille, and be subject to such orders as they may receive from colonel Eustace, colonel-adjoint of the general-staff of the army—who is the bearer of this order.

(L. S.)

ALEX. BERTHIER.

COLONEL EUSTACE OF THE GENERAL-STAFF, TO MAJOR-
GENERAL ACHILLES DUCHATELET, AT DOUAI.

*Head-Quarters, at Menin, 30th June 1792.
at one o'clock in the morning.*

I FIND myself called on, and alas too soon! my dear general, to begin the journal I have promised you of all our *important* operations: I, however, take up my pen, agreeable to that promise, to console you—though not in the way I expected, during your honourable separation.

Our army is at this instant retreating under my window! It has been resolved *at Court*, that Belgia and the Belgians shall be abandoned to their former masters: could you have foreseen this event, you would not have bedewed my hands with tears, when, with Beauharnois, I took my last leave of you. I dare not offer a single commentary on this unaccountable measure: Lajard must be the first victim which your injured nation will demand; but *his master*—will *he* purchase a pardon with the head of a minister? Time must decide this question: Charles the first thus removed *for a moment* from his own person, the rage of an insulted people; but "*Tricher revient toujours à son maître.*"

The activity of our indefatigable Berthier, Beauharnois and Beurnonville, leaves me nothing *official* to do for this night: our soldiers, indeed, retire with a sullen silence, truly honourable for them—and truly inauspicious for their rulers: the grand bailiff,
Mr.

Mr. Van Rymbeck, has this instant left me ; and as my horses are at the door, I shall continue to write you as much and as long as I may be permitted to be master of my own time.

I think I already see you, my dear Achilles, more furious than the Greek, whose name you honour, on the loss of his Briseïs—more sorrowful than he, on the loss of his Patroclus: perhaps I am to blame to give you any other than joy-inspiring tidings; but, in confining myself to this regimen, I should not keep my promise—perhaps I should never write you more: your last wound, however, is only in the flesh; and before this news can penetrate the seat of your spirits, I will recount to you a most extraordinary scene, in which I played a part: it is of the tragi-comic kind; and as there is something to sigh, and something to laugh at, I beg, as you love us, for I join Beauharnois' request with mine, that you will be as composed as a hero forced from the field by a glorious wound, and strongly bulwarked from the enemy, should naturally feel himself: but to my story.

Nero-like, and to shew he was imperator urbis, du Jarry amused himself last evening with setting fire to one of the suburbs of Courtray: about half an hour after the execution of this atrocious order, we arrived at general Carle's quarters—at the entrance of the city near the gate of Menin: two extensive rows of houses in flames, was the first object that struck and confounded us with horror and shame:

I cannot describe the consternation of every being of the city — for the whole world were at their windows, in silent dread and expectation that a similar fate was impending on themselves; the affliction and despair of the house-less families, which fled at our approach to the suburbs, for a moment deprived us all of the powers of speech or action; you will not therefore blame me for not attempting, in an half-acquired language, (when it would be impossible in my own) to communicate the horror still reigning in my soul with the remembrance of this infernal exhibition; nor did I ever so truly feel—that light sorrows speak, great grief is dumb, as in this moment, when I would fain tell you all I really suffer. But let us quench this blaze, whose every smoky column seemed to soar heaven-ward—charged to proclaim the sooty blackness of our deed.

The marshal was accompanied by generals Berruyer and Carle, by his two aides-de-camp Montmorency and Lagrange; by Berthier, Beauharnois, and myself: indignant at this atrocious action of du Jarry, he exclaimed with great earnestness: "*for the love of God, let this fire be stopped if possible:*" the ever-watchful Berthier rode up to me, and said, in a voice of sympathy and anxiety; but with all his wonted ardour: "*Go, my dear Eustace, and execute this honourable order; and employ all your persuasion, and even threats, if they are necessary, to calm the alarms of these poor people—that they may assist you:*" I thought I had outstripped the wind; but

I had scarcely rushed through one house in flames, to speak to the people who had deserted them, and galloped out through another, which came *crash* to the ground as I passed the sill, but I found Berthier already at my side: I had had the good fortune to rouse some few of these sufferers, from the stupefaction into which they had been thrown: we soon got some furniture and other effects out of houses already in flames, and which had been abandoned from a very natural idea—that if any thing was saved by them, in the first instance, it would, in the second, be pillaged by the troops: in five minutes I had twenty light and active fellows on the roofs, and as many stouter ones employed below: the former to tear up and cast down the parts already on fire, the others to destroy the smaller houses and offices, which might serve to communicate the fire: I mounted myself on one, and being thus in full view of all the surrounding groups of six or seven petrified men, women, and children, I waved my handkerchief to them; and soon collected nearly two hundred—the flames quickly abated for want of fuel—and the joy expressed by such of the people as were gathering round the little property which had been rescued, and reclaiming their several rights—this joined to a consciousness of having done some good, indeed all I could, for a moment cheered away the profound affliction of the first view of this catastrophe: we now come to the comedy.

How it happens I know not—whether it be from

an irresistible promptitude in the execution of what my heart dictates to me, or how it is; but so it is, my dear Achilles, that whenever there is any thing praise-worthy to be done, I manage to have a share—at least of the labour; and, had there been time for reflection or calculation, in this instance, I might suspect myself of having been spurred on by the honest ambition of doing more than others, because I am a stranger; and of a country so much extolled for courage and humanity: there is a vast deal of these two qualities, I allow, in the mass of our citizens; but, as you have often proved to me by examples within your own knowledge, the extramundane position of America—the passion for calumny, which pervades a great portion of her inhabitants, as in all small societies of gossiping Europeans, their idle festive turn—all this leads them to admire every stranger, rather than any man of their own country, who has any attainment above their own level: thank Heaven I am now in a grand circle, *where a prince is seen to rank below a man*—(alluding to the duke of Orleans); and where every good man will have a Berthier, a Beauharnois, and a Duchâtelet to esteem and caress him. Now for the comic-quasi-tragic sequel of this catastrophe: when the marshal and his retinue were arrived to the point where Berthier and myself were occupied, du Jarry approached us—but we did not honour him even with a single reproach. General Berruyer rode slowly up to us; we were at about five or six paces

from the marshal's group: "*du Jarry*," said he, in the plaintive tone of a man profoundly afflicted, "*you have given these people cause to detest us and our nation:*" in an instant *du Jarry* drew his pistol from the holster, and whilst he was cocking it, with a burst of execrations, *Berruyer* advanced to him, with as composed a visage as if about to receive a favour at his hand, saying: "*fire, general; fire—you cannot augment the wound already given,*" and with this he opened his breast: I had just time in a single glance to perceive, that the marshal's aides-de-camp were only waiting FOR A SPECTACLE: I vaulted into my saddle, and spurring up to the side of *du Jarry*, I snatched from him the pistol with one hand, whilst I collared him with the other: "*you are guilty, Sir, of an act of insubordination—*cried the assassin, in a mixed tone of rage and shame: "*in the presence of a marshal of France,* replied I, *we are equal in rank; but if there can exist a superiority, it must belong to the officer who forces a mutineer to respect the presence of his chief; and in saving the life of a brave general, I stand acquitted to Heaven and to my own conscience; but the marshal is there,* added I, pointing to him—*let him judge between us.*"

Our Nestor called and chided him, as I would not have been chided to be a marshal of France! We all approached the group—I then gave *du Jarry's* pistol to his servant, saying "*I prohibit you, on your peril, from restoring this arm to your mas-*

ter—*till he is sober;*” for it was easy to perceive he was not so, at that moment. Berthier then sent me to the extremity of the suburbs, where some houses were still in flames; and the neighbouring ones deserted: I galloped at full speed; but I was less astonished to see forty or fifty Austrian jagers issuing from the adjoining wood, to line the hedge which connected it, on the right, with the last house, than to find the veteran Carle at my elbow—without an aide-de-camp or any other attendant: all my entreaties, added to those of our dragoons (who had masked themselves in the narrow streets on the side of the hedge, so as to be perfectly sheltered and yet to attack in flank any party that might attempt to pursue us) were ineffectual: as true to the smell of powder, as an old hunter to the sound of the horn, he seemed insensible to all our prayers and supplications: on telling him, I could not proceed on the work of humanity I had been detached to perform, whilst his person was thus unnecessarily exposed, I obtained his promise to retire—but he went off as sullen, as a coward would go on to danger.

I now began to feel for my own person: it was essential to gain the extremity of the line of houses—the jagers were only at fifty paces distant; but part of my orders, *commanded me to return to the marshal*, so that it was necessary, my dear general, not to get killed—if *I could decently avoid it*. As I distinctly perceived an Austrian officer, who stood

in the rear of his troops, as if to direct their fire when or where he might find it proper; and seeing, that I was the only visible object and consequently the only subject of their immediate attention, I had recourse to a *ruse de guerre*, which perfectly succeeded—for it saved both my life and honour, by delaying their fire when I was within point-blank shot; and by enabling me fully to execute my mission. I drew a white handkerchief from my pocket and knotted it to the point and hilt of my sword—as soon as I had waved it once or twice, I saw the officer advance towards me on the left of his jagers: I rode on gently, so as to keep him in a line with me and their whole front, whilst I at the same time approached the groups of people to whom I was to communicate the marshal's injunction, to save their effects and houses if possible: a very short phrase, expressive of this injunction, joined to a promise of reward to such as were the most active in the business, soon dispersed them—every one running to the point where his interest called him: my kind Austrian protector was now within thirty paces of me, and still advancing, expecting me to move forward, as my horse's head was towards him: finding myself thus masked from the jagers, who could not have fired without killing their officer, I made the *pirouette*, gained the row of houses on my right, and galloped off at full speed: I was an hundred paces distant before their first discharge; and of half a dozen subsequent volliés,

not a shot took effect. The marshal and Berthier were both satisfied with my conduct: the marshal—because I had been in danger; and Berthier—because I had left no part of his humane injunctions unexecuted. At this moment came up a gentleman of Courtray, whom I knew a merchant at Bordeaux, a Mr. Rousseau: I promised him a guard for his magazine of linen, and his bleaching-ground, for I did not then know—that we were about to abandon the city. Du Jarry returned with us to general Carle's quarters, where he embraced Berruyer; commended, rather coldly, my *unceremonious* intervention; and weeping like a child—he obtained forgiveness even of de Valence, with whom he had a broadsword duel the day I went to reconnoitre the Lys, in which both were wounded: you are a droll people, my dear Achilles! when in ire, one would suppose you about to devour each other; and with all this appearance of vulpine rage, a single *bon mot* calms you down to lamb-like meekness—nay it absolutely makes you better friends! Pity that such a people should have any other master, than the laws they have themselves acknowledged!

It is near two o'clock. Berthier had sent for me at midnight, to announce me the order for our retreat: our shame is now on the point of consummation; I must soon to horse and away.

I am glad, as it has happened, that you are at Douai rather than at Lille; [*I was mistaken—the general was transported to Lille*] though it will prevent

prevent us from seeing you so soon: the hurry and bustle of our passage; the numberless and sorrowful visitors you would have been condemned to receive and condole with, could not have been of any advantage to you. Adieu, my dear Duchâtelet: remember, and remember only, your services in America: think constantly of the good you have done, and may yet do, in the cause of mankind—without giving a thought to the court or its crimes: your king is a fool, or a traitor, and must soon quit the helm—in *one way or other*: could he be informed, or would he inform himself, of what passes about him, *he might probably be frightened into a sense of his duty*; but who will dare to be his friend, when he suffers himself to be governed by such a queen?

UT MATRONA MERITRICI DISPAR ERIT, ATQUE
DISCOLOR—INFIDO SCURRÆ DISTABAT AMICUS,

are truths unknown to, or unfelt by, him. All this is in some measure the fault of your best and most early patriots: they have heaped on him all the patriotic virtues ascribed to Trajan by his impartial panegyrist: they have suspected him of having loyally patronized the revolution; of having no view but to its consummation: every address to him has teemed with this atrocious falsehood—TIBI SALUS TUA INVISA EST, SI NON SIT CUM REIPUBLICÆ SALUTE CONJUNCTA: if these loans of patriotism were made with a view of binding him to the payment—they have been made in vain; he is

too old to benefit by counsel; and too stubborn to be shamed or cajoled into a change of conduct. Tacitus tells us this system was pursued on young Nero, by the senate of Rome: *magnis Patrum laudibus id factum celebratum est, et juvenilis animus levium quoque rerum gloria sublatus, majores continuaret*—and you well know with how much efficacy!

I must to horse: God bless you my dear general; and preserve your nation from the horrors of a civil war! in every other, French courage will leave no ground for concern. We shall soon see each other; I will, in the mean time, send you the good tea I had ordered from Dunkirk, and will always feel a very great pleasure, when I can evince the sincerity of my affection for you—and for all those who resemble you.

J. S. EUSTACE.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO COLONEL BEAUHARNOIS, ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE ARMY OF THE NORTH.

Valenciennes, Wednesday evening, 18th July 1792.

I HAVE been so fortunate, my very dear Beauharnois, as to prevent a violent and scandalous schism, which, *at this period*, I hold as no small service rendered to the army and to the state. Dumouriez is *supposed* to have disobeyed a positive order of the marshal—but were the fact as clear as it is probable, no subordinate officer can plead this

act of rebellion as a justification for himself — *in a commission of the same crime*: it is rumoured here, that the marshal had ordered Dumouriez to abandon the intrenched camp of Maulde: colonel Lefort, of the 6th regiment of light-dragoons, attached to this division of the army, called on me at noon—to learn (as he termed it) *officially from me*, whether such an order had passed our office: it was easy to discover, from the agitation of his mind, that he intended to act in consequence of my reply: I frankly told him, I believed such an order had been given; but that I could by no means assert it officially: “*if so, replied he, we are determined to march the 20th in pursuit of the marshal; for every officer thinks with me, that no obedience is due to a rebel.*” I was thunderstruck at this declaration, but did not hesitate to observe, *that the principle once admitted, every dragoon of his regiment might urge the same plea for returning home, since we colonels are commanded in our brevets to pay constant obedience to the generals, under whom we serve — as inferior officers are made subordinate to us—and soldiers to those of every grade: break a single link of this chain, said I, and the whole military system, now suspended by it, must fall to the ground*: finding him rather afflicted than concerted by this observation, I plainly told him *I was to wait on Dumouriez, within an hour, to receive his dispatches for marshal Luckner; and that I should not fail to put him on his guard against an impending defection in some of*

the troops: Lefort, who is a charming young man, and a consummate disciplinarian, very readily acknowledged that, as an impartial and faithful officer, I could not do otherwise; so we parted good friends: as he added, that the officers were to be assembled for the purpose of announcing this project to Dumouriez; and as they were expected at head-quarters at 5 o'clock, I exacted his promise, that the declaration should not be made; and I gave mine—not only, that I would not commit him—but that they should all be satisfied, *as to the ground of their discontent*.

Dumouriez seemed astonished at the danger I exhibited to him: he had written to Paris the moment before—his aide-de-camp was dispatched to bring back his letter from the post-office—I counselled him to send his signet, to authorize this extraordinary demand; and to request the post-master to bring the letter himself—as this would prevent his being subjected to a mortifying refusal; and also prevent this attempt from becoming a dangerous precedent; both with aides-de-camp and post-masters: he thanked me and followed my advice: as I supposed—the post-master came himself to bring the packet: the general added a postscript, and, agreeable to his promise, received the officers with infinite politeness—gave them a very satisfactory detail of his motives for remaining near Lille and Valenciennes—before they had time to proffer a single murmur; and as soon as they were gone, he embraced me with affection; telling me I should

be employed in his division — if the war becomes *offensive* in this quarter: I took leave immediately, and was happy to find Lefort perfectly contented with Dumouriez and myself.

As I shall make a detour by Saint-Quentin, Laon and Rheims, to explore the country, and fall in with you at Verdun—where the Marshal told me he intended rejoining the army, on his return from Paris—I give you this anecdote, my friend, that you and our dear Berthier may take the necessary steps for breaking it to him, with a paregoric suited to the extreme vivacity of his temper, and to the present combustible state of things in the army; your countrymen must have their attention constantly fixed on some foreign enemy, or they will make themselves a domestic one Francis calamitas maxima est vitæ iners, et felicitatis apex belli tempora sunt. The Marshal, you know, already hates Dumouriez: as I confess I admire him much, and consider him both an able and a dangerous coadjutor, I wish him to be managed rather than incensed, that he may continue to be useful rather than become hostile to the good cause: besides, he will not fall alone, if I know the man; and if he draws down the marshal with him—God knows where the mischief may end.

I have met with an excellent travelling companion, colonel Lagrange of the 44th, or regiment of Gascony, formerly Orlean's-infantry: I give him a seat in my carriage; and besides the pleasure of aiding a valuable officer to join the army, I secure

myself a very amiable professional Mentor, who will advance me in my pursuit of the two Alexanders.... If I ever overtake you, there will be a consolation annexed to the miracle — that I shall be a better patriot because a more useful one: and you will love me the more: God bless you, my dear friend! embrace Berthier for me — and tell him I shall never cease to admire him, till I find so many officers equal to you both, that you shall cease to appear extraordinary beings: my private affection is so independent of all military considerations, that it will not expire in me with the officer; but serve me as a passport to the patriot's corner in Heaven, when some Austrian or Prussian bullet shall have made a sufficient aperture in the body — for the soul to make its flight through.

J. S. EUSTACE.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DUMOURIEZ TO COLONEL EUSTACE, AT METZ, IN REPLY TO A REQUEST OF BEING EMPLOYED IN THE ARMY, DESTINED TO PENETRATE INTO AUSTRIAN-FLANDERS.

Camp of Maulde, 12th August 1792.

I Received very late, my dear American general; your amiable letter of the 23d July, from Varennes. I cannot yet say any thing on the wish you express; its success depends on the decision of my own fate: if I am charged with a defensive war, I shall myself request you to come and join

me; and I will arrange with the minister, that you shall be employed as the major-general of my van-guard: if the war continues a defensive one, it will be equal for you to be with me or remain where you are: in any event I am much flattered that I have known you, and shall always be happy to give you those testimonies of esteem and cordial attachment, which you merit from every man of principle and of independent character: it is with these sentiments, that I have the honour to be yours,

DUMOURIEZ.

ORDER OF MARSHAL LUCKNER, CHARGING COLONEL EUSTACE WITH THE FORMATION OF SEVERAL COMPANIES OF NATIONAL LIGHT-INFANTRY, AT METZ.

ARMY OF THE CENTER. GENERAL-STAFF.

*Head-quarters, at Richemont, 16th August 1792.
4th year of Liberty.*

I Inform colonel Eustace, that marshal Luckner charges him with all the detail relative to the formation of the companies of national light-infantry—Law of the 28th July 1792.—He will to-morrow form and march the first company of Rheims to the van-guard, at Pont-à-Chaussy. The surplus will make part of a second company, which will receive marching orders, as soon as he informs me of their

formation: he will take care, that the *dépôts* remain in garrison; and will make me a return of all the volunteers, who offer themselves for this service.

A. BERTHIER, *major-general, &c.*

COLONEL EUSTACE TO MARSHAL LUCKNER, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF THE CENTER, AT HEAD-QUARTERS —FRESCATI, NEAR METZ.

Metz, 21st August 1792.

MY attachment to you, my dear Marshal, my patriotism and my honour equally oblige me, at this moment, to leave the army for a few days. I intend going to the national assembly, with Mr. Anthoine, the mayor of Metz: this magistrate's approved fidelity to the commonwealth — his manly firmness and eloquence assure me *for you* a prompt and brilliant triumph over the perfidious efforts of our exterior enemies—and even over the prejudices of our patriotic minister of war.

I am going, my dear Marshal, *to offer myself as an hostage for you*: I intimately know and therefore sincerely love you: and I am ready to sport my existence, even in this way, to preserve to France her veritable saviour. Grant me, my dear Marshal, the permission I now request of you: I shall probably rejoin you in five or six days—after this proof of my unalterable attachment to the nation, you cannot doubt of my firm resolution to observe

serve

serve my voluntary oath of fidelity—to perish at the standard of French liberty and independence, or to exist only to share the triumphs and the glory of her defenders.

My friend Beauharnois, who charges himself with this letter, will receive and transmit me the necessary passports: I remain with great truth, my dear Marshal, respectfully and affectionately yours,

J. S. EUSTACE.

MAJOR-GENERAL BERTHIER TO COLONEL EUSTACE.

I Send you, my friend, the passport you desire: go to Paris—make known the truth there—and do justice to those virtuous men, who loyally serve the common cause.

ALEX. BERTHIER.

COLONEL BEAUHARNOIS TO COLONEL EUSTACE.

Head-Quarters, 26th August 1792, at midnight.

BERTHIER consents that you should go to Paris, my dear Eustace: the marshal is in bed; but he will send you a passport to-morrow morning—though Berthier thinks one from the municipality will suffice. Do me the pleasure to deliver the inclosed letter to Condorcet, as soon as possible.

ALEX. BEAUHARNOIS.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO MESSIEURS LAPORTE, LAMARQUE AND BRUAT, MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND COMMISSARIES-PLENIPOTENTIARY WITH THE ARMY OF THE CENTER.

Metz, 27th August 1792.

HAVING obtained the permission of marshal Luckner, with a passport from the municipality, I propose going to Paris on public business with M. Servan: I know and esteem this patriotic minister, I therefore flatter myself that my known attachment to the cause of his nation—which is now the cause of mankind at large—will give me some claim to his attention. I am determined to offer myself as an hostage, not only for the patriotism of our illustrious chief; but even for the success of our arms—if he is continued in the chief command: I therefore, gentlemen, request your approbation of the measure I am about to pursue.

I have not *paid my court to you* during your residence here; my occupations are as constant as they are multifarious—and I am too well assured of your justice to believe, that any tender of those personal attentions which you merit from all your fellow-citizens—and which, under any other circumstances, I should have been happy to tribute you—could possibly render me more worthy of your confidence, than the exact attention I shew in the execution of my military duties.

I have, gentlemen, only one favour to hope from your nation—**THAT OF BEING RECEIVED A CITIZEN**; and I trust, if the information you may

obtain on my principles and conduct, is as favourable as I expect it will be, you will have the goodness to forward this request to the legislature—and to give it your support. I am, gentlemen, very fraternally, your affectionate humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

MESSEURS LAMARQUE, LAPORTE AND BRUAT, OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, TO THEIR COLLEAGUE MR. FRANÇOIS — MEMBER FOR NANTES.

Metz, 27th August 1792.

4th year of Liberty and 1st of Equality.

WE have this instant, Sir and dear Colleague, been favoured with a very interesting petition to the Legislature—which it would have been truly agreeable to us to present and support in person; but the connection already existing between you and the petitioner, is a decisive motive for giving you the preference.

Colonel Eustace, of the general-staff of the Army of the Center, is a citizen of the United-States of America: destined from his infancy to sustain that liberty, so recently established in his native country, he has not lost a moment in coming to aid us to defend the cradle of our new-born freedom: his military services and activity had obtained him a commission in the armies of the republic; *his patriotism and the manner in which he has behaved on every occasion, have justly secured him the esteem of his brother-officers and soldiers*: there still remained one

wish unsatisfied—THAT OF BEING A CITIZEN OF FRANCE; and you must be sensible, Sir, that if it is laudable in him to make the request, it cannot but be very agreeable to us to receive it: as you will have a more immediate occasion, than we can possibly have, for making known his sentiments to the national assembly, we beg you, Sir, to do so without delay—in order not to deprive the army for a long time of an excellent officer; and if the attestation of your commissaries should be necessary, we do ourselves an honour and a pleasure in giving it—and you have our full power to cite us. We remain, Sir and dear Colleague, sincerely and respectfully yours,

LAMARQUE, LAPORTE, BRUAT*.

General Kellermann, commander in chief of the army of the center, made the following recommendatory Note at the bottom of this letter—at the moment of leaving his Army to join that of the North, commanded by general Dumouriez:

THIS Nation could not make a better acquisition than general Eustace: *his military talents, and his*

* On my arrival at Paris, the latter end of the month of August, I found the Legislative Assembly so wholly occupied with the convocation of a national convention, that I was induced to suspend my petition: Mr. Carra having intimated the propriety of adding some testimony of my conduct, during the interval of the above letter and my then application, I submitted it to Generals Dumouriez and Kellermann—who kindly added the few I have given: as the petition was never presented.—I did not become a citizen of France.

attachment to the Republic of France—ought to assure him the title of Citizen, which he solicits.

KELLERMANN.

To this, General Dumouriez added:

A brave general and a good citizen, like Mr. Eustace, deserves to be aggregated to a great Nation—on which he is so lavish of his blood and of his talents, in the most noble of all causes—that of Liberty.

DUMOURIEZ.

Copy of the Petition, sent with the above letter and notes to the National Assembly, in the month of October 1792, by Messieurs Carra, Sillery and Prieur—their Commissaries residing with the armies of the Center and the North.

COLONEL EUSTACE TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE.

Citizens of France—President and Representatives of the Republic, in the National Convention.

IT is an Ally of the French Republic; it is a Defender of her National Independence, who appeals to your Justice—

I am a Soldier of the Empire—I request to become a Citizen.

J. S. EUSTACE.

Note, added by General Dumouriez:

I solicit the Republic of France to grant this re-

quest so honourable to two free nations—of which such citizens as general Eustace have dispositions so fraternal, as to facilitate their adoption.

The commander in chief, DUMOURIEZ.

MAJOR-GENERAL EUSTACE, OF THE ARMY OF THE CENTER,
TO MR. SERVAN MINISTER OF WAR.

*Head-Quarters, Vitry-le-François, 16th September 1792.
4th year of Liberty and 1st of Equality.*

MR. Kellermann, Sir, has just presented me an Order and Letter of Service of the Executive Council, constituting me a major-general of the Armies of the Republic, and attaching me to that of the Center under his command—for which mark of attention, I beg you to receive my best thanks.

General Berthier, Sir, will do me the pleasure to present you this testimony of my grateful respect: I have accidentally heard that he sets out immediately for Paris: I hope and trust, Sir, — and I dare freely to avow my wishes to a minister who is just and virtuous—that he will triumph over all his enemies; and that he will return to aid us, with his talents and his zeal for the public welfare, to expel from our territory the despots of the North.

I have long since, Monsieur de Servan, been attached to the person of general Berthier, by the ties of professional duty; and it is from my intimate knowledge of his public principles, and of his pri-

vate virtues — that I have ventured to profess to you my respectful esteem for this excellent officer. A stranger in France, and in the French army; without any other recommendation than your first letter of service, general Berthier has constantly honoured me with his protection, his confidence, and his counsel; is it credible, Sir, that he does not love his country and the principles of liberty and equality so happily adopted by his fellow-citizens—he, who has paid every possible attention to the recommendation of a patriotic minister? he who has shewn the most unequivocal friendship for a republican of America—who had sworn to perish at the standard of the national liberty and independence of this empire? Forgive, Sir, this excess of zeal for the public welfare: my letter cannot alter *facts*; but it will, and it is all I desire, assure to general Berthier *a prompt and impartial investigation of his conduct*. Permit me, Sir, to reiterate the sentiments of that respectful and sincere attachment, with which I have never ceased to be your affectionate humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM JOHNSTON, OF THE VOLUNTEERS OF BORDEAUX, SERVING IN THE ARMY OF THE SOUTH, TO MAJOR-GENERAL EUSTACE.

*La Tour-du-Pin, 7th September 1792.
4th year of Liberty and 1st of French Energy.*

WHAT a change, my dear Colnoel, since my last! the dark cloud of treason, which en-

veloped the finest cause in the world, and seemed to hide the road your brave countrymen had traced out to us, has at length burst over the heads of those traitors, who, abusing of the confidence of the Nation, had, by their perfidious machinations, brought us to the brink of the precipice—but, thank God! it is they who have fallen.

I would have answered sooner your kind favour of the 4th of last month; but I waited to see how affairs stood; and to tell you the truth—I was afraid you might have had a contrary principle from myself: on reading all news-papers to this date, I find—that *my opinion of you was just*: “a brave officer, faithful to his trust;” indeed, on looking over the latter part of your letter, I might have answered it long ago: to be true to the Nation, is to be true to the Constitution; and as to the constituted—as long as they remain true to the Nation, well and good: but, like faithful stewards, they are at all times responsible to their masters.

We have been forced to raise the Camp of *Bessieu*, on account of the bad weather; our volunteers are swimming in their tents. To-morrow, I believe, we shall encamp *aux Abrets*; and if the Savoyards are not very polite—we shall go and teach them to dance. This day we hear, that your brave Luckner has thrashed those automatons of despotism the Prussians—seven thousand killed and four thousand prisoners, is a fine hecatomb to the cause of liberty: may they all fall before you, like flies in a cold day! It is reported

ported that Dumouriez had a share in the glory, and that his army has repulsed the enemy at Maulde: we have only one regret, that of being condemned to remain spectators, when we most ardently desire to be actors.

I thank you for your wish of being useful to me, by a recommendation to general Montesquiou: I have the honour to be acquainted with him, since our first arrival in his army; and as I do not intend to make a profession of my present situation, I only wish the continuation of his favour as Mr. Montesquiou, and not as general in chief of the army. As to you, my dear colonel, allow me to blame you, in not accepting the grade of a *maréchal-de-camp*: you are an experienced officer, and you know well that we want men of that kind: perhaps as a general-officer you might help prodigiously in either saving an army or gaining a battle; but in your secondary situation, you can only do what you are bid: it is not a secondary post, that a man of professional abilities ought to look to; when a whole nation wants his aid—it is a virtuous ambition to be among the first of these saviours of a country.

Your bayonet-wounds do honour to your humanity: they are a proof of your bravery and presence of mind—two qualities very requisite in your situation: as to me, my dear Colonel, I am quite calm and quiet; though my heart beats with impatience, as often as I hear you are active—whilst we have only a prospect of being so. Give me some account of

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your transactions, and I will acquaint you with all our operations: our motto is, Death before Slavery. Believe me, my dear colonel, your affectionate friend,

W. JOHNSTON.

MAJOR-GENERAL EUSTACE TO CAPTAIN JOHNSTON.

Head-Quarters of the army of the Center, at Frésne, in Champagne, 17th September 1792. 4th year of Liberty.

YOUR letter of the 7th, my dear William, was handed me last night at *Vitry-le-François*; and I employ a momentary halt—to thank you for your friendly concern on my account: I am a *marshal-de-camp des armées françoises*, in spite of all my remonstrances; and my commission is of the same date with your letter; but I am still, *at my particular desire*, attached to the general-staff, or *état-major-général*.

You are mistaken, my dear friend, if you consider an adjutant-general as an officer of *secondary importance in a battle or a camp*; the general-staff, in *all its branches*, is the sole and immediate organ of the commander in chief, and the source of detail and execution; on the contrary, an officer of the line, either at the head of a regiment, brigade or division of a grand army—is a stationary, tethered being, attached to the center of a designated circle—without a single discretionary or general prerogative.

On the officers of the general-staff repose the safety and discipline of the whole army; we solely and exclusively reconnoitre the positions of the enemy—designate such as we consider proper for the encampment or cantoning of the troops—and trace their order: we detail, dispatch and effect the execution of the general in chief's commands;—so that we alone “*can help prodigiously in either saving an army, or gaining a battle*”—for we superintend the line of march; conduct and display the columns; range, in order of battle, the several corps of the whole army; and, in case of victory or defeat—lead on or retire the various parts of which it is composed; pardon these fraternal observations; they are the most unequivocal testimony I can tribute to you of my friendship; for I should be happy to see you as good an officer, as you are pleased to suppose me; and though now a pupil, you may soon become my preceptor—to which I piously say—*Amen*.

As to my situation, a few words will exhibit it fully: with marshal Luckner and general de Berthier I was the *enfant gâté* of the army—with the gallant Kellermann and with the successor of de Berthier, general Shaumbourg, I still hold the same post: my brother generals and the adjutants-general love, esteem, and caress me: the soldiers have confidence in my zeal and integrity; and—a speedy victory excepted, I have not a wish ungratified. You have long known me, my dear William, and must allow me two qualities—courage and sincerity; I

may have been imprudent—I may have been deceived—I may have *appeared* ungrateful; but my enemies must confess I never professed a friendship I did not feel; for I can with truth aver that, like Cumberland's Irish Hero, O'Flaherty, "*I never said—Thank you—to the Man I despised.*" I know not the papers or eulogiums to which you refer: I am sensible that I deserve well of this country: my demand of service was modest—I *asked permission to serve as a volunteer*; the government offered me, and I accepted, my rank of Colonel in the armies of France: it was a patriot minister, Servan, who patronized me: I never saw the king, nor queen, nor court of France: I have no connection with the interior or exterior enemies of the state: the army is my post; the field of battle my theatre of action; my brother officers my only companions; the Liberty and Happiness of the Nation—my sole, my constant, my immutable wish and pursuit.

Adieu, dear William! I am summoned to camp: I shall always think and speak of you, with affection; and I demand, *in return*, that you and your friends—civil and military—may judge me without prejudice.

J. S. EUSTACE.

MAJOR-GENERAL EUSTACE TO THOMAS PAINE — MEMBER OF
THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE.

*Head-Quarters of Dumouriez' Army, 23d Sept. 1792.
1st year of the French Commonwealth.*

THE principles of "Common Sense," together with "The Rights of Man," have at length triumphed in France; and you, Sir, at this moment enjoy the full price of your honest labours; to behold the subject of a foreign monarch exalted by the grateful suffrage of a free people, to the dignified station of LEGISLATOR OF THE FRENCH COMMONWEALTH, is a spectacle amply compensative of all the toils and perils I have passed during the revolutions of America and France—it is a delightful pre-
sage, Sir, of the future and rapid progress of Liberty in Europe.

Your attachment to the republicans of this country having by no means detached you from those of America, I venture, Sir, in my double capacity of Citizen of the United-States, and Maréchal-de-camp of the patriot armies of France, to address myself without reserve to the champion and representative of the rights of mankind. This will probably be a long letter; the motive, however, will palliate if not extenuate a prolix intrusion—The state of responsibility in which I hold myself to my native country, seems to call for a prompt and minute exhibition of the inducements to my past and present

absence; I therefore beg leave, Sir, to claim you *here*—as the organ of my justification *at home*.

As to my past absence, I shall reserve the motives for a personal communication: I cannot persuade myself to sport with the freedom and happiness of millions, merely to obviate or correct the illiberal strictures of the envious or the ignorant: suffice it to say, that I have long since conceived the project of a great revolution, of which *the project alone* does honour to my country—and should I perish in this war, a patriotic nobleman, lord Robert Fitzgerald, and a respectable countryman, colonel Blackden—will attest the fact: the execution, I trust, is still reserved for me: and should the guardian angel of freemen extend *to me*, the same protection, of which the chiefs of the American and French revolutions have so recently, *so manifestly* benefited, I do not hesitate to say—that Washington himself will boast of me as a pupil; and that the vast family of mankind will hail me as a common friend.

As to my present absence, my rank as a general officer of the French armies and the war in which this country is engaged—should alone suffice, *with Americans*, to justify and distinguish me. I shall, however, detail for your satisfaction and my own, the circumstances which led to my actual rank, and to the military reputation and esteem which I hold in the army to which I am attached. At the period of the declaration of war, I was at Bordeaux, where I had resided for a long time after my return from

*Spain**: my family and my friends had long insisted on my return to America; a small inheritance, and the advanced age of my uncle, general Donald Campbell, were the powerful motives to this injunction; I continued to entertain them with promises, for I foresaw in the wily policy of Leopold, and in the *negative* conduct of the French ministry, the inevitable testimonies of an approaching war: I was young; I had served during the whole war of America—and not without distinction: travel had enlarged my views; I was no longer *an American*, I became *a man*; the common bondage of all the habitable world had ripened my patriotism into philanthropy; even my personal gratitude to France, was lost in the more manly sentiment of attachment to the rights of mankind at

* The PERSECUTION which I had suffered in the colonies of that kingdom, occasioned my visit to the capital: it had cost me a most respectable establishment---it almost cost me my life; yet this persecution is the pride and consolation of all my present moments.

To persecution WERE the Dutch, the Flemmings and the Swiss indebted for their liberty; the former bid fair AGAIN to derive the same blessing from the same ample, sovereign source! In all ages, the same causes have uniformly produced the same effects; and why shall I be prohibited to hope, that my countrymen of the South may derive from my sufferings the happiness of their posterity, their own immortality; since to the persecution of an individual, TILL THEN more obscure, is the empire of Great-Britain indebted for her SECOND MAGNA CHARTA?

large: the struggle of France, as a member of this vast family, offered me however a theatre to commence, if not an object to engross, the exercise of my military zeal: anxious to commence the great work, I flew to her standard to proffer my services; they were graciously accepted.

I had arrived at Paris on the 3d of June last, with letters of recommendation from the patriot bishop of Blois, (Mr. Grégoire) and from an equally patriotic friend, at Bordeaux, (Mr. Virnes) to several distinguished members of the national assembly: I waited however on Mr. Claviere in the evening, without any other recommendation than my character of an American patriot—whose military services at home were authenticated by indisputable testimonies: I asked and he gave me a letter for Mr. Servan, the minister of war: my documents were submitted to him in their originals, to enforce the request I made—TO SERVE AS A VOLUNTEER—in the French army under *marshal Luckner*.

On the 4th June, Mr. Servan gave me an audience and assured me employment—he is a patriot, and he kept his word: on the 6th he presented me the letter of service which he had obtained for me from the king, as *colonel-adjoint to the general-staff of Luckner's army*: I prepared to set out on the instant; but it was not till the 8th in the evening, that Mr. François of Nantes obtained permission for me to appear at the bar of the national assembly. I had not the *honour of going to court, nor of kissing*
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the monarch's hand on my appointment—my friend general Dumouriez, then minister of foreign affairs, will testify that I did not solicit this mark of favour: and yet I loved Lewis the sixteenth as the kind benefactor of my country, as the reputed father of his own; it was to the national assembly that I demanded and obtained admittance.

Having sworn in the presence of the deputies of the people, "that I would perish at the standard of their freedom and independence—or that I would exist only to share the triumphs and glory of the nation,"—I was admitted to the usual honours, and after a few minutes enjoyment, I took leave amidst the flattering plaudits of the house and galleries: my post-horses were at the door; I set off at 5 o'clock in the evening, and the next morning at 11 I presented myself to major-general de Valence at Valenciennes—at 50 leagues distance.

The army of Luckner had marched the same morning for Lille in Flanders: I set out immediately, joined the marshal at night; and in consequence of a friendly recommendation of Mr. Servan to him, and to general de Berthier, the chief of the general-staff, I was received with particular marks of attention at head-quarters: *mine* were allotted me: and the marshal enjoined me to consider his table as my own.

At Lille I purchased horses: and having entered the Austrian territory with the army on the 17th, I was charged on the 20th to reconnoitre, with an

escort, the country lying on the right of the Lys, between the enemy and our positions at Mehin and Courtray—with orders to make my report in writing, a minute knowledge of this country was essential to our retreat into French Flanders—General Berthier, whose friendship I shall ever reckon among the fortunate events of my life, had been pleased to attribute to me some professional talents, and kindly gave me this early opportunity for their développement. My report was concise and minute—I may add *patriotic*; for to sound the dispositions of the inhabitants was not an article of my *military* instructions; it was prudent, however, to be assured of their attachment or enmity; their *neutrality* was all I could promise myself: too ignorant to predict or comprehend the effects of freedom; and too opulent to hazard the loss of their fortunes in search of an *unknown treasure*; I could only lament their misfortune and counsel their neutrality—taking the necessary measures to secure it, by securing their persons and their property from violence.

The capture of Courtray soon marked the progress of our arms: the conquest, or rather the emancipation of Austraïa Flanders; now appeared an inevitable consequence: Ghent and Brussels being already nearly abandoned, Luckner hoped to possess them—and to ingraft the revolution of Brabant on that of France.—The garrisons of Mons and Tournay were sufficiently awed by the intrenched armies of Lafayette and La Noue, to prevent an incursion of the

enemy into French Flanders; but an army of reserve, of eight or ten thousand men, at Menin and Courtray on the Lys, was essential to secure our retreat in case of reverse: this was not to be feared—but still it was necessary to be guarded against: our little army did not exceed eighteen thousand combatants: our train of artillery, pontoons, ammunition, treasury and baggage-waggons, was immense: our line of march, in a single and long-protracted column, would necessarily have presented a feeble and inviting flank to the enemy—they could safely have detached from Tournay and Mons twelve or fifteen thousand men, unincumbered with baggage and secure of retreat, to harass that of our army. In vain had Luckner solicited of the court, an augmentation of his force—the *generals of armies had not then the right of calling forth the national troops of the surrounding departments.*

Lajard, the minister of war, foresaw, as well as Luckner, the triumph of French liberty in the emancipation of the Flemings, and he knew the progress of our arms would prove the harbinger of a general revolt in the Low-Countries. He had apparently contributed, with Lafayette, to rear the grand arch of constitutional freedom and independence: the keystone was artfully laid aside: too base to participate in the immortality which awaits the patriots of this nation, he hesitated, thank heaven! to connect and perpetuate the tottering pillars of this stupendous edifice—the consummation of Gallic freedom and

independence was reserved for their more virtuous successors. In these bustling times to be
 —The army of Luckner was ordered to leave the enemy's territories and to exchange positions with that of Lafayette: except the unnecessary devastation of all the intermediate country between Valenciennes and Metz; no circumstance of public importance had marked the transposition of these armies: there is, however, a personal circumstance, which I shall venture to detail for you: The adjutants-general and *adjoints* of the general-staff being attached to their respective columns, I was charged by general de Berthier, as his assistant—to inspect the order of march of the whole army; I witnessed such scenes of horror—as I should blush to relate: Early in the campaign, marshal Luckner had detached the companies of grenadiers from their several regiments, forming them into separate battalions—which, with the *carabiniers* (the horse grenadiers of the army) composed a formidable reserve, under the orders of major-general de Valence: this excellent officer had been called to Paris; and his absence was one cause of the many disorders which his presence might have impeded or corrected. The grenadiers of France were never famed for their gentleness; they were ever terrible to friends as to foes; they had always an *esprit de compagnie* which kept them at variance with the other companies of their regiments; but their proportionable paucity then held them within certain bounds: when formed into se-

parate battalions, and forming an almost distinct army, they soon betrayed an *esprit de corps*—which the firmness of de Valence could alone confine to its proper object: under *his command*, even in the Low-Countries, they were active, sober, humane, and obedient—because they were at war, and in an enemy's country, where they were triumphant; on the perfidious retreat of our army, and without their chief, they were idle, turbulent, brutal, and seditious—our march was marked with *every species* of rapine and *violence*.

Notwithstanding my best exertions—riding twelve and fifteen leagues each day, when the army marched but four or five; and though I was so fortunate as to protect an infinite number of houses from pillage, by pursuing and conducting to their columns the stragglers and marauders who covered the adjacent farms—I could not be omnipresent; and many disorders were unknown to me, till long after their commission.

At the village of Harville, in the vicinity of Metz, a squad of drunken grenadiers had artfully entered between the rear of the main-army and the *gend-armerie* (which formed the rear-guard: they had seized a waggon, in which was a farmer, his wife, and three daughters—of an age to render their immediate preservation indispensably important: I flew to their rescue: my *entreaties* were insufficient; in vain had I summoned their chief, a serjeant, in the name of the nation and of the law, to desist

from the shameful enterprize: I commanded him to deliver me his arms; he retired three paces, put himself in a posture of defence—and cocking his piece, presented it at my breast, with a burst of oaths and threats; his companions vowed vengeance in their turn; the surrounding stragglers of other corps, to the number of twenty, refused to aid me, saying—"they dreaded the grenadiers."

I rushed on the mutineer; he gave me three bayonet-wounds in the right hand: I seized him by the collar, and whilst I thus held him—I challenged the assassins singly or collectively to attack me if they dared: the mutineer shook within my grasp: I held him fifteen minutes, my arm bathed in blood, until the rear-guard appeared at some hundred paces distant: on their near approach, I called them with seeming coolness—not to my succour, not to seize the mutineer; *but to receive at my hand a prisoner*: he is still confined; but why the professed indignation of all *the officers of the army*, has proved insufficient to produce my punishment of this traitor, is a long story not *now* worth the telling. At my departure, the inhabitants confounded me with their grateful benedictions: the post-masters had commanded their postillions not to accept any compensation for the horses of my carriages on the route.

We arrived at Metz on the 27th July, and took a position at four leagues distant on the road to Thionville.—My arm was so excessively inflamed, that I was obliged to carry it in a sling and to remain at

Metz; but I kept my horses at the army; and went frequently in a carriage to Head-Quarters—in order to be ready should the enemy advance towards us: In my last visit, a dragoon of the suite of the prince of Chartres announced to the Marshal the sudden arrival of ten thousand Prussians at the village of Ayançe, at a league distant; adding, that our post of cavalry there had been cut to pieces: I knew the only direct communication between the enemy's position at Fontoy and this village—the *cross-roads were totally impassable*—this route was narrow and broken: I assured the Marshal of the impossibility of such a surprize; offering, with six dragoons, to rally our fugitives, and to ascertain the force and situation of the enemy; Luckner gave the order: I set out at full-speed; and, taking with me six dragoons of the grand-guard, I passed, without seeming attention, the forrage, accoutrements and baggage of our dragoons which covered the great road: I soon met their colours and military chest in scandalous retreat; and, as it appeared, by order of Mr. La Coste, the colonel: I had not time to discuss or verify—I could only lament the fact.

I ordered these detachments to head-quarters; and, having tied several straggling fugitives hand and foot, I sent them with a cavalier of my escort to the Marshal: I pursued my route; arrived where the advanced vedettes had been posted; posted others; joined and caressed the honest remains of the regiment; and, engaged, as I felt myself, in a truly sacred and national cause, *pro aris et*

foris, I literally reconducted the affrighted curates and peasants to *their altars and to their fire-sides*, returning in three hours to head-quarters to make a report of the service I had been detached on—the Marshal was satisfied; and the next day, in consideration of my wounds, I was charged “with all the detail, relative to the formation and equipment of the companies of volunteer national-light-infantry, raised in execution of a law of the 28th of July, and *to be organized at Metz.*” The volunteers of the first and second companies of the patriot city of Rheims arrived, were formed, armed, officered, and equipped in thirty-six hours; and I marched them in ten minutes after the election of their officers, to join the advanced guard before the enemy: they have repeatedly prayed me to attach them to my brigade; and I dare to say, there is not a single officer or soldier of these companies—but would risk his life to preserve mine.

At the latter end of August I was called to Paris, where I found Mr. Servan—whom the voice of the nation had again called to the administration of the war department: In four hours after my arrival at Paris, I was ready to set out for the army—but the mayor of Metz, who had accompanied me, retarded my departure till the next day; I did not however lose my time.

To Mr. Servan, to Gensonné, to Brissot, and to several other members of the extraordinary commission, I enforced the necessity of annulling the base capitulations

pitulations of Longwÿ and Verdun; they were neither military nor obligatory in any single article; I panted to restore, *with honour*, those indignant garrisons to their colours and to their country; and at the same time to punish the inhabitants of these towns, *in terrorem to others*, for their perfidy or cowardice: Mr. Guadet was present, and his motion—which has since been adopted with enthusiasm—*was subsequent to my departure from Paris*.

On the 3d of September, I arrived at Metz—marshal Luckner was then ordered to Châlons, as I had desired, with the title of generalissimo—to form the army destined to intercept the march of the enemy on the grand route to Paris: lieutenant-general Kellermann, in command of the army of the Center, was preparing to effect a junction with Dumouriez, in the vicinity of Saint-Menehould; being ordered to accompany him, I took leave of the municipality of the city, expressing my regret that I was precluded from sharing, as I had been led to expect, the laurels which awaited them—should the enemy besiege their walls: I assigned them, in the event of a siege, a thousand crowns (being six months of my pay and appointments) for the education and maintenance of three *orphan-Boys*—to be chosen by them from among the sons of such of the citizens, as might perish in the defence of our common rights.

I was detained for some days after; and having joined general Kellermann near Saint-Dizier, he

handed me the commission of *maréchal-de-camp* (or major-general) of the French armies, with a letter of service attaching me to that under his command. I requested the general's permission to remain for the present as assistant-chief of the general-staff, observing to him—that I felt a sort of repugnance to accept the command of a division, at so advanced a period of the campaign: the colonels who had been charged with these corps—prior to the late promotion of major-generals, had some claim to remain at their head; besides, they were all my particular friends; and though they had frequently assured me of the pleasure my promotion would afford them, I positively refused the command intended me. General Berthier had been recalled, and was replaced by a general Schaumburg, whose talents are by no means adapted to so vast and complicated a department—he has all the capacity necessary for the discipline and field organization of troops, having long had the majority of a German regiment: and I consider that of Nassau, where he served, as well as the army at large, much injured by his removal to the general-staff.

General Kellermann consented to my demand: this attached me more immediately to his person *by duty*, and I already felt so by sentiment: during the canonade of the 20th, I had a charming opportunity of attaching general Kellermann to me—though sent to rally the advanced guard under lieutenant-general Desprez-Crassier, which had been twice forced

from its first position: though commanded to advance, from their distant situation, the corps under lieutenant-general Chazot, to sustain the advanced-guard—and though finally ordered to advance the corps of Dumouriez's army, under the gallant Stengel (and which, by covering our right, had secured us the victory); still I had the happiness of being at the general's side, during the hottest part of the day: the French prince, Mr. de Chartres, was constantly with us; and witnessed perhaps the warmest conflict, *of the kind*, which this century has exhibited. I had frequently turned aside the general's horse, from the shells which fell around us; one, at length, had fallen at five or six feet distance on our right: I spurred my horse, rushed in between the general and the shell, and holding him in my arms, I said: "*I will shield you, general, from the fatal stroke:—your life is more important than mine:*" it burst without doing us the slightest injury; but my horse was wounded in the thigh: I took the general triumphantly by the arm, assuring him, *he would not fall that day—or that I would perish with him.* He has made handsome mention of me in his official letter; and has included me with two gentlemen of his family—as I had attached myself that day to his person: there is a circumstance, however, very worthy of note: General Kellermann has mentioned *a Mr. Lajolais*, who was unfortunately absent the whole day; and as he told me the next morning, *excessively ill at Saint-Menehould*: the ge-

neral had perhaps intended this for some other aide-de-camp; and Mr. Lajolais *may have accidentally substituted his own name for that of a more fortunate colleague*—for he is equally the aide-de-camp and *amanuensis* of Kellerman: the other person is a captain *Fabrefond*, a *hanger-on* of the general's, whose sole merit on that day, was the having given his own horse to *Kellermann*; for he then quitted the field, to conduct the wounded horse to his stable at the first onset—and I saw him no more.

Thus, Sir, have I presented for your perusal, the faithful recital of my services in France: having passed nearly twice twenty-four hours without food or repose, before the affair of the 20th; and remaining till the next day at noon without the smallest slumber or sustenance—my constitution nearly fell a sacrifice to this rude shock: the next morning I was obliged to come to this town, under the auspices of my friend, general Dumouriez; still indisposed, confined to my chamber and separated from my baggage, I have neither the aid of my journal, nor of that of the army—to render this detail more minute or interesting.

I trust, Sir, in some moment of leisure, that you will have the goodness to peruse this prolix address; and to communicate its contents to the president of the United-States: We have, at present, no minister at Paris; and I hope this circumstance will sufficiently account and apologize for the trouble I have given you.

I wish you, Sir, health, and long life ; it is all I have to wish you—though I respect you much and feel most warmly attached to this country: you have within yourself, all that your friends or the partizans of France can desire—for their happiness and your own honour.

J. S. EUSTACE.

GENERAL DUMOURIEZ, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY
OF THE NORTH, TO GENERAL KELLERMANN.

Head-Quarters, Saint-Menehould, 5th October 1792.

I SEND you, dear Kellermann, general Eustace—with a letter I had written to you, praying you to spare him to me—as I have need of him in the Low-Countries: I give you in exchange twelve squadrons of cavalry and nearly thirty battalions—the whole commanded by general Dillon.

DUMOURIEZ.

GENERAL EUSTACE TO MR. PATRICK FRENCH—BORDEAUX.

*Head-Quarters of the Army of the North,
St. Menehould, 4th October 1792, 1st year, &c.*

YOU will have exclaimed, perhaps twenty times, my dear Mr. French—that Jack Eustace is a most ungrateful puppy: not a single line from him, since his departure in May last, though placed on a theatre where every act—where every scene

is interesting to the whole family of mankind. It is true, my kind friend, I have been *apparently* ungrateful; but I have had many private as well as military obstacles to encounter, when I attempted to tribute to my benefactors the time and the acknowledgements which I owe them. I was a stranger, with an elevated rank; and placed in a situation, where distinction or degradation awaited me at every step: more than common exertions were necessary—yet my services have fully equalled all my hopes: they are most faithfully *journalized*; and may yet serve us, I trust, for a social repast—when Peace shall have reassumed her empire in France; and when, as it has often happened to us—we have nothing better than *old stories* to amuse us.

As I have not had time to read the Gazettes, since I joined the army, I do not know whether you have ever heard of me—since we parted; yet I flatter myself *you* have sufficient confidence in my honour and my zeal, to believe I have done my duty—as well as any of those whom the news-writers may have trumpeted. The period is not far distant, when I shall fall or particularly distinguish myself; the Prussians are in scandalous retreat; we follow them daily, and with an ardour becoming the champions of a righteous cause. The French are now Republicans—they are consequently my Brothers and my Friends. With a King, without Nobles; with a Constitution, without Law or Liberty; and with a Legislature, controuled by a Mob—they were ob-

jects of my pity and contempt: this language may sound strangely to those, who, having no fixed principles of their own, have swallowed without digesting mine; for what was treason, in my opinion, three months ago, is now the sentiment—the duty of every good citizen*. The veneration I have ever professed for the government of my native country, is a sure testimony of my genial predilection for the Rights of Mankind; and can it be doubted, that I *now* admire this People—when they dare to adopt the same constitution, for whose establishment I voluntarily sacrificed the irreparable flower of my youth? In perfect amity with all the citizens of this vast commonwealth, I almost forgot that I may

* Though I considered the Constitution of 1791, only as a first step from national slavery to national emancipation; and although my PATERNAL FRIEND had taught me, that France would rise into a Republic—still I held it the duty of every man to respect the first servant of the state—SO LONG AS THE PUBLIC WILL SHOULD SUSTAIN HIM ON THE THRONE—whatever opinion might be entertained of him as a man: the Being I least admire in England, is George Guelphs: the magistrate I most respect, is the king of Great-Britain (when I am in the island): and though I would pass the channel in a balloon—to join A MAJORITY of those Islanders in an attempt to republicanize their kingdom—still I would volunteer it in the defence of government, against a FACTION or a MOB; and would immolate either a Bedford or a Fox—were either of those illustrious patriots to meditate an act of personal regicide: these are my principles: no pension or persecution can enfeeble or deracinate them.

have an enemy in France: nothing rascally nor rascal-like enters my imagination; and had not the address I have just subjoined to the first part of this letter brought Bordeaux head and shoulders into my brain, I should not have soiled this fair page of friendship with the names of a C...u—a Camalet or a Fenwick—or of any other male or female actor of this stamp*.

I had a thousand questions to ask you; and I should have asked them with the confidence of an old acquaintance, who expected the most patient replies to one and all of them; but this accursed Trio of hell-born miscreants, has deranged the whole system of a peace-breathing letter: treachery and cowardice; pride and ignorance; falshood and meanness all rush into my presence; and produce that embarrassing kind of indignation, which must naturally result from the intrusion of such strange and unwelcome visitors....Let us turn, then, like Junius—from

* I have suppressed the name of the first of these personages, as he has since paid me a visit at Paris with my honored friend Mr. Strobel: I had caned him at Bordeaux, in the public garden--where two thousand men were under arms; and yet the consul Fenwick suffered me to be arrested AS AN ASSASSIN: the second was broke on the wheel, for various murders and robberies; the third does not deserve the same punishment--though I am convinced, had he courage, he would not stop at the commission of any crime of which the other was found guilty: as I publish this opinion of him under his nose--I am ready to inform his friends Tallieu and Isabeau, on what facts it is founded: *QUEM SUA CULPA PREMET, DECEPTUS OMITTE TUERI.*

the king and Mansfield—to a list of Worthies.

Have the goodness, Sir, as you are a constant 'change-man, to remember me most affectionately to Messieurs Coppinger, Barton, Clyne, J. Burke, and the Rabbas—to the Cacey and Dowling families—to my kind friend Mr. Byrne, and his charming brood: to West, Gledstones, the Chevalier o'Connell, Doctor Galway and to Mr. R. Foster; to Gallagher, Mr. Everard, to the kind Mrs. Murray—and to any priest or layman who honours me with his recollection. I suppose Mr. Church, the Roches, and Vernon in Heaven; and therefore do not charge you with a syllable for them; not that I should doubt your ability or punctuality in the execution of a commission; *even for Heaven itself*—for you are a perfectly honest man and the faithful agent of your friends; but that I hope you will delay this journey till we meet. [*My worthy friend died soon after.*]

To Anthony Lynch and to Delap, you will remember me kindly; desire the latter to write to me and let me know if your *protégé*, honest Stevens, *is on his own legs or yours*. So much for my friends—to my enemies I can only recommend patience or a halter, for I may fall—to gratify their rage; but while I live—I shall never feast their resentment, by ceasing to be respected as a patriot Soldier of the Republic of France. I salute you, dear Sir, with grateful affection,

J. S. EUSTACE.

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P. S. If Mr. Andoe is still at Bordeaux, present me affectionately to him; from his last letter I suppose him in Ireland. What is become of V...? I would have placed him near my friend Dumouriez; but I fear his carnal prevail over all his other appetites: strange, unaccountable, damnable infatuation! some female, more substantial *for his purpose* than the fair genius of France, still holds him, I dread, in pitiable bondage. I have been sick from excessive fatigue since the 22d, and have remained with Dumouriez: I had fasted and watched from the morning of the 19th, till noon of the 21st; but I set out in half an hour, though I write in bed. I expect to breakfast on the 6th at Verdun.

My kind friend Dumouriez requires me for his army; a compliment not a little flattering—and not a little auspicious *d'un avenir heureux*: you love me, my good Sir, and this information will give you pleasure. Adieu! I set out immediately and I have six leagues to ride in the rain: it is a charming thing to be a Soldier—when the weather is fair!

GENERAL EUSTACE TO THE SUB-CHIEF AND ADJUTANTS-
GENERAL OF THE ARMY OF THE CENTER.

*Head-Quarters of the army of the North,
Saint-Menehould, 5th October 1792, &c.*

AS general Dumouriez, my dear friends, has requested me of general Kellermann, to serve in the army under his command—which is to march in

a day or two for the department of the North, I have acquiesced in the general's desire, as well from choice as from a principle of obedience: this resolution will however necessarily occasion a separation—to me particularly painful. The obligations I am under to my late worthy colleagues, are, like my present regret, profoundly imprinted on my heart; and I at this moment reclaim a-new the exercise of their usual indulgence.

More vain of their friendship, than of the title of a major-general, I always considered myself as their pupil; and endeavoured, by obtaining the confidence of all—to profit more efficaciously of the military lessons of each: happy would it have been for me and for my country, had I been able to imitate these Models with success!

In an official letter, which I have just written, I have ventured to boast the friendship of general Berthier, declaring—that I esteem this event as one of the most fortunate of my life. The name of Berthier will ever serve me as a pass-word, on the high-road of honour; the remembrance of this preceptor therefore naturally brings to my view his estimable coadjutors: permit me then, my dear and good friends, at a moment when the recollection of your virtues and your kindness to me is strongly present to my recollection, to repeat your names—in testimony of my lively gratitude to one and all of you: to Cantobre, d'Hédouville, Coulange, Guenand, Pontavice, Desprez, Bertrand, Grigny and Michault, I tribute the

sincere homage of my esteem ; and I beg them to be assured, that in all changes of climate or situation, I shall hold it an honour to have been their colleague and their friend, as I now feel myself flattered with being their fellow-soldier and their fellow-citizen,

J. S. EUSTACE.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CANTOBRE—SUB-CHIEF OF THE GENERAL-STAFF OF THE ARMY OF THE CENTER—TO GENERAL EUSTACE, AT VALENCIENNES.

*Head-Quarters, at Verdun, 15th October 1792.
the first year of the French Republic.*

I HAVE heard from you, my dear general, *with the joy of true pleasure* : all your old colleagues unite in sending you a thousand civil greetings : as to myself, I shall be too happy—if I can meet with an opportunity of being in any way useful to you.

We yesterday took possession of Verdun ; all is quiet ; and we expect to march to-morrow : happily for us, our army augments daily ; and I desire, for your satisfaction—that you may find a young, handsome and amiable Hostess at Brussels. If you see general Desflers, recal me to his recollection ; to that of général Dampierre and of colonel Desponches ; I salute them all.

Adieu, my dear General ! if you go *even to the regions of Tartarus*—preserve for me, wherever you may be, a place near your person. I am respectfully yours,

CANTOBRE.

MAJOR-GENERAL EUSTACE, TO JOHN COX, ESQUIRE,
BALTIMORE—STATE OF MARYLAND.

*Head-Quarters of Dumouriez's army,
10th October 1792, and 1st year of the French Republic.*

YOUR brother has promised me, Sir, to give his family a very long and circumstantial detail of his journey from London to the head-quarters of this army. Our young countrymen abroad, are but too apt to forget their friends at home; the amusements of the old world are so wonderfully fascinating to the inhabitants of the new, that they seem on their arrival to consider Europeans as superior beings; and naturally incline, by a fatal imitation of *their manners*, to adopt a new character—rather than to preserve their own. Our young friend has, however, two circumstances to guard him from this infatuation—his zeal for the cause of liberty in France, results from the national, and, I might add, incomparable education of his native country; and his filial reverence for the government and governors of the United-States, will confine his imitation to such traits of the French character as must improve and not debase him abroad or at home: besides, I shall place him as a lieutenant in the van-guard; of which I command a division; and, as the son of a gallant and distinguished countryman, who perished at my side in defence of the independence of our nation, you will readily believe that his instruction and preferment will be the joint objects of my constant attention.

He will remain in my family till our arrival in Flanders: at Lille I shall equip him for the campaign; and though I may not remain in winter-quarters myself, I shall place him with a preceptor who will direct his present zeal to its proper objects—so that at the close of the next campaign, he will deserve the commission of a French captain; and I will then take him into my family as an aide-de-camp—in order to extend his military views beyond the narrow limits of regimental duty, that he may merit his rank among the field-officers of the army—before he obtains it.

My friend general Dumouriez had authorized me to take him as a supernumerary aide-de-camp; but experience had taught me, that it was not very friendly or safe to accept this flattering offer: I have neither time nor abilities to be an useful preceptor; and as I require, that each *aide-de-camp* should *aid me in the field*, I have chosen mine among the officers most esteemed for their knowledge and service: the lives of five or six thousand men, nay the safety of the whole army and the safety of the state—may depend on the *faithful execution* of the orders of which an aide-de-camp is the bearer: it is not sufficient, as it was supposed in America, that an aide-de-camp be a smart young man, who could, parrot-like, repeat an order—without abilities to superintend or enforce the execution. I hope you and your brother, Sir, will both feel the propriety of the step I have taken; and particularly when I add, that I

pursued the same system for my own promotion in France.

In the month of June, I requested permission to serve *as a volunteer*: I had my rank of colonel given me; and as I held the same grade in Georgia, as adjutant-general of the State in 1781, I could have been made a major-general on the instant: I declined it; and having served with some distinction, during the campaign in French and Austrian Flanders, I have received the commission of a *maréchal-de-camp*, or field-marshal; and shall probably be a lieutenant-general in less than six months; without intrigue, without even a solicitation; and without exciting the jealousy of a single brother-officer.

My young pupil, whose constant application has already procured him a tolerable smattering in French, will assure you of the very honourable testimonies of my conduct by the commissaries of the national convention (sent to inspect and reform the army); and of the two successive commanders in chief, Kellermann and Dumouriez: the latter had required me of the former, to command in the vanguard of his army, destined to emancipate the Flemings of Austrian Flanders. Having already served in that country, as assistant-chief of the general-staff (composed of the adjutants-generals of the army—the chief being a field-marshal); and being constantly charged with the important functions of reconnoitring the country, my services *must prove still more im-*

portant in our intended incursion—so that my military happiness I consider as compleat. Attached to your brother, Sir, I have given you this long detail, to remove every subject of doubt or concern on his account: I have as yet contented myself with deserv- ing the protection and confidence of this nation without having written a single official letter to the government of my own. I am, as a free citizen of the United-States, an ally of France; and am therefore accountable only to myself for the part I have taken in the revolution. I am not among the *favoured* of the United-States; and feel perfectly content, that I have never *paid my court at the levees* of her rulers. A thorough republican in principle and conduct, I dared to detest the late constitution of this country, at the constant hazard of my life during three years: the moment of her perfect emancipation, was the moment I chose to demand the title of a French citizen; and I glory to be classed among the founders of liberty in the two Commonwealths of the Universe—which alone deserve the title.

The constant habit of speaking, writing, and thinking in foreign languages, has nearly deprived me of the free use of my own—which will apologize for the style of this letter. I have been long absent from my native country; my return to the bosom of my family and to my friends, is the wished-for recompence of all my services abroad; there is but one title I should

should prefer to that of *an American*—it is that of being a *friend of mankind*—and I flatter myself I shall obtain it. You will direct for your brother: Armée-Dumouriez: à Monsieur, Monsieur Cox, Américain, sous-lieutenant employé à l'avant-garde; and by sending your letters to London, Havre, or Dunkirk, they will reach him expeditiously and *without too heavy a tax of postage*: Mr. James Robertson, merchant at Dunkirk, is my friend and correspondent; and I will make him your brother's. My address is: Armée-Dumouriez: au citoyen J. S. Eustace, maréchal-de-camp, au quartier-général. Any letters, for me, forwarded to Dunkirk, or to our minister at London, Paris, or the Hague, will arrive to my address, which at present is uncertain—as the campaign in Flanders will be over, before an answer to this can arrive in Europe.

I beg you, Sir, to remember me very affectionately to Mr. Dulany and to Madame de la Serre—to colonel Rogers and to Mr. Sterret's family. Mr. Goddard I hope is doing well—he is an old friend of mine: his former partner, colonel Oswald, is here and will be employed, I fancy, in the artillery—it is unfortunate for him, that he does not speak a word of French; he is a brave good officer and will, I trust, do us honour, should the war continue; but I venture to say, it cannot last six months: the allied armies of Prussia and Austria are in scandalous retreat—they have suffered more by disease and famine than by their loss in action—the king of Prussia is

disgusted beyond measure; and will, king-like, soon leave his friends to shift for themselves. I am, Sir, respectfully your obedient humble servant,

J. S. EUSTACE.

GENERAL EUSTACE TO JOHN FRANK NEWTON, ESQUIRE—
OF THE ISLAND OF SAINT-CHRISTOPHER'S—LONDON.

Valenciennes, 24th October 1792,
at 9 o'clock in the morning.

..... I March on the instant, my dear Newton, for the Austrian Netherlands: I waited on general Dumouriez last evening, though very much indisposed—to renew my request of being employed in the van-guard: he repeated his promise; and as soon as the council of war was over at head-quarters, the chief of the general-staff *officially* announced to me the flattering resolution in my favour.

I have passed a horrid night, with an insupportably ardent fever; and am again to pursue the route of Brussels—but under auspices more favourable than those of the perfidious Lajard.

My illness proceeds from the incessant fatigue I have been condemned to undergo, since I became a French officer. After my hurried journey from Bordeaux to Paris, in the beginning of the month of June last, you remember my leaving you on the 8th in the evening—without having enjoyed a single moment's repose; and the next morning I joined

general de Valence in this city: the Marshal was already gone—but I overtook him at Orchies: after sharing in the labours of my charming chief de Berthier, of the illustrious Beauharnois and the indefatigable Luckner, I was charged—during the military country-dance which Lajard and Lafayette had prepared for the two armies—to inspect the march of *that of the North* from hence to Metz, which kept me every day ten, twelve, and sometimes fourteen hours on horseback..t. [*The mutinous conduct of serjeant Verdun, is detailed in my letter to Mr. Paine—which leads me to suppress it here.*]

...On my arrival at Metz, carrying my arm in a sling, the Marshal, in consideration of my wounds, —very graciously charged me, on the 16th August, with the formation and equipment of several companies of Light-Infantry-Volunteers: the perfidy or negligence of the minister of war, d'Abancourt; and of the quarter-master-general, La Salle, whom I had suspended—kept me again on horseback, between the arsenal and the barracks, sixteen or eighteen hours in the twenty-four; and during ten successive days: to *repose myself*, I set out for Paris on the 27th, with the mayor of the city of Metz, on public business with Mr. Servan, the minister of war. On my return to Metz—after a seven days journey and without a single night's rest—the Committee of Inspection (*le Comité de Surveillance*) thought proper to arrest me in the salloon of the government-house, where I myself lodged—in the

presence of general de Belmont's family and of several officers: I was conducted to the common prison—and ushered in among a group of hideous criminals—accused of being Lafayette's agent at Metz and his coadjutor in the arrest of the national commissaries at Sedan. After three days of painful duration, without having eat or slept; prohibited from all communication with my friends and even from the service or presence of either of my servants; after three very solemn and ridiculous interrogatories, it was discovered—that I had never been at Sedan—that I had declined serving in the army of Lafayette, when I entered the service; and when the choice of his or Luckner's-divisions was at my option: having thus discovered, that I was perfectly innocent of the charges alledged against me, I was told very gravely *by the gaoler*, in the evening of the fourth day—that I might leave the prison, on paying the fees. My views being directed to the army rather than to these despicable agents of the coalition, I immediately left the city and joined general Kellermann near Vitry-le-François—waiting patiently for a calmer moment, to summon these scoundrel-inspectors to the bar of a national, impartial, and avenging Legislature.

When I add for your information, that I had merited the thanks of the corporation of Metz—on the good conduct of the numerous recruits I had organized in the city—that, only three days before my arrest, I had assigned a thousand crowns (*being six*

months of my then pay as a colonel) for the education and maintenance of three boys, to be selected by themselves from the sons of such of the citizens as might have fallen in the defence of their walls—you will say I am an astonishingly good patriot to remain in the service of a state—when such enormities are committed by men in place: and so I am, my dear friend; for so long as the liberties of this empire shall be invaded, I will remain in the chosen host of their defenders.

I am truly ill, my dear Newton! Beurnonville has just left me; he found me in bed half an hour ago with a raging fever; but in an hour's time I shall be at the head-quarters of the van-guard at Quarouble, midway between this city and Mons—from this last place you will have a letter. Believe me very respectfully and affectionately your friend,

J. S. EUSTACE.

P. S. *Sainte-Sauve, 24th October, at 11 o'clock.*

Having met with general Beurnonville near this village, we returned here together to his quarters:—writing me an order for taking possession of the post of Kievrain and the depending cantonments, I am allowed a moment to give you *the motive of my arrest*. On leaving Paris, Mr. Servan requested me to suffer the three commissaries of the Executive-Council, Freron, Paris and Desutiers, to accompany Mr. Anthoine and myself to Metz: the safety of this

magistrate was an object of public concernment—the sum of five-hundred thousand livres had been advanced and confided to him, for putting the city in a competent state of defence, as a siege was expected—the enemy having penetrated into France by Longwy. These commissaries were all well supplied with assignats, which, *light come light go—così vanno le cose del mondo*—they squandered away very handsomely on the road. At the first halt, I was astonished to hear Freron very gravely propose the creation of a triumvirate—to be composed of Marat, Robespierre and Danton; I ventured to suggest to him, that, as the national convention would soon assemble and proclaim the national will, it would be as well to wait their decision—instead of tampering with a populace, or with an army. As he had been named by the influence of Danton, and seemed quite a creature of this minister, he warmed at my opposition—hoping to intimidate me by the loud tone in which he trumpeted his master's elogium and his apparently friendly hint to me—*that, as a foreigner, I ought to have no opinion*. Finding me undaunted by his vociferation, he managed to get into my carriage with Anthoine and to set out before his colleagues, pursuing a different route from that agreed on—so that we saw him no more; and I was forced to become the travelling companion of Desutiers, Paris and Anthoine's secretary. To these reptiles I held the same language, adding—that I would arrest the very

first individual, who, in the city where I commanded, should dare to attempt the subversion of the existing government: as this threat was repeated to them at Metz, they prevailed on the unsuspecting police-inspectors to arrest me. Freron had been elected a member of the convention:—he set out for Paris, where he now figures as a loud and hasty republican: the fellow is a very Vicar of Bray, without a principle or opinion of his own; and will soon betray himself: *illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere*. He will do much less mischief as a deputy than as a commissary: a single man cannot be very dangerous in a council of seven hundred; but as a commissary, his arbitrary and sanguinary character would make us more enemies than friends, wherever he might serve. The general calls me—Adieu! and God bless you, my amiable friend.

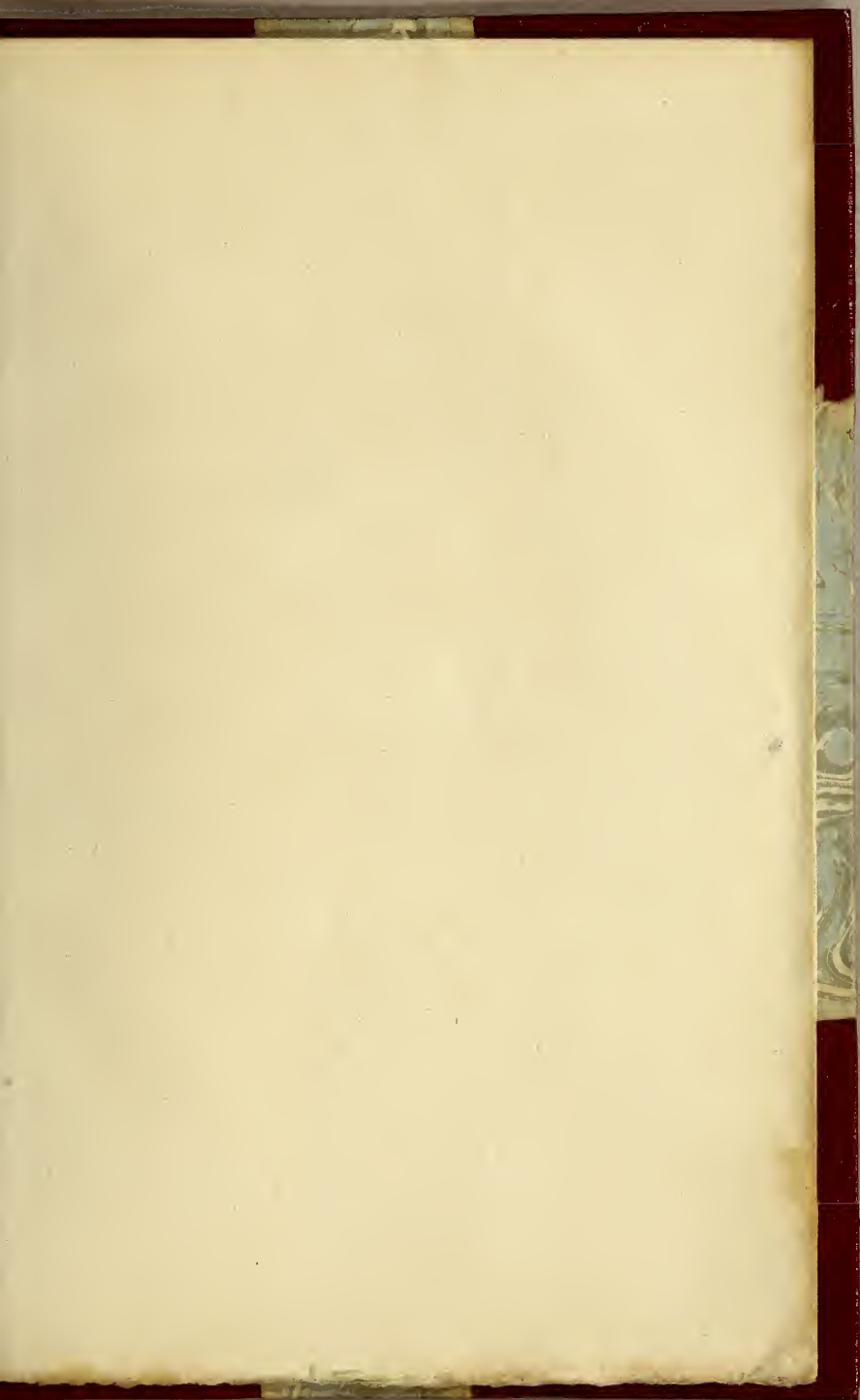
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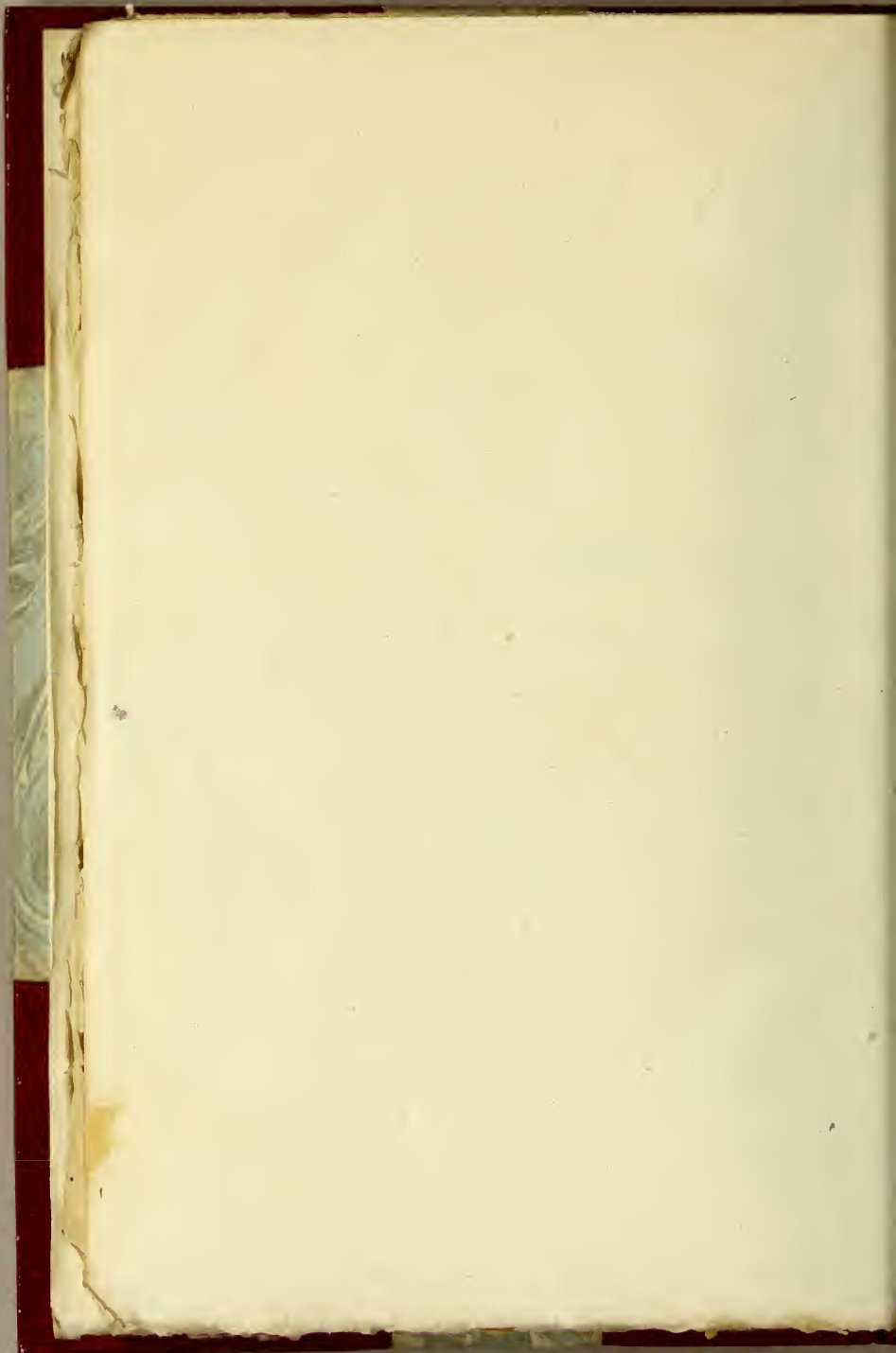
THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

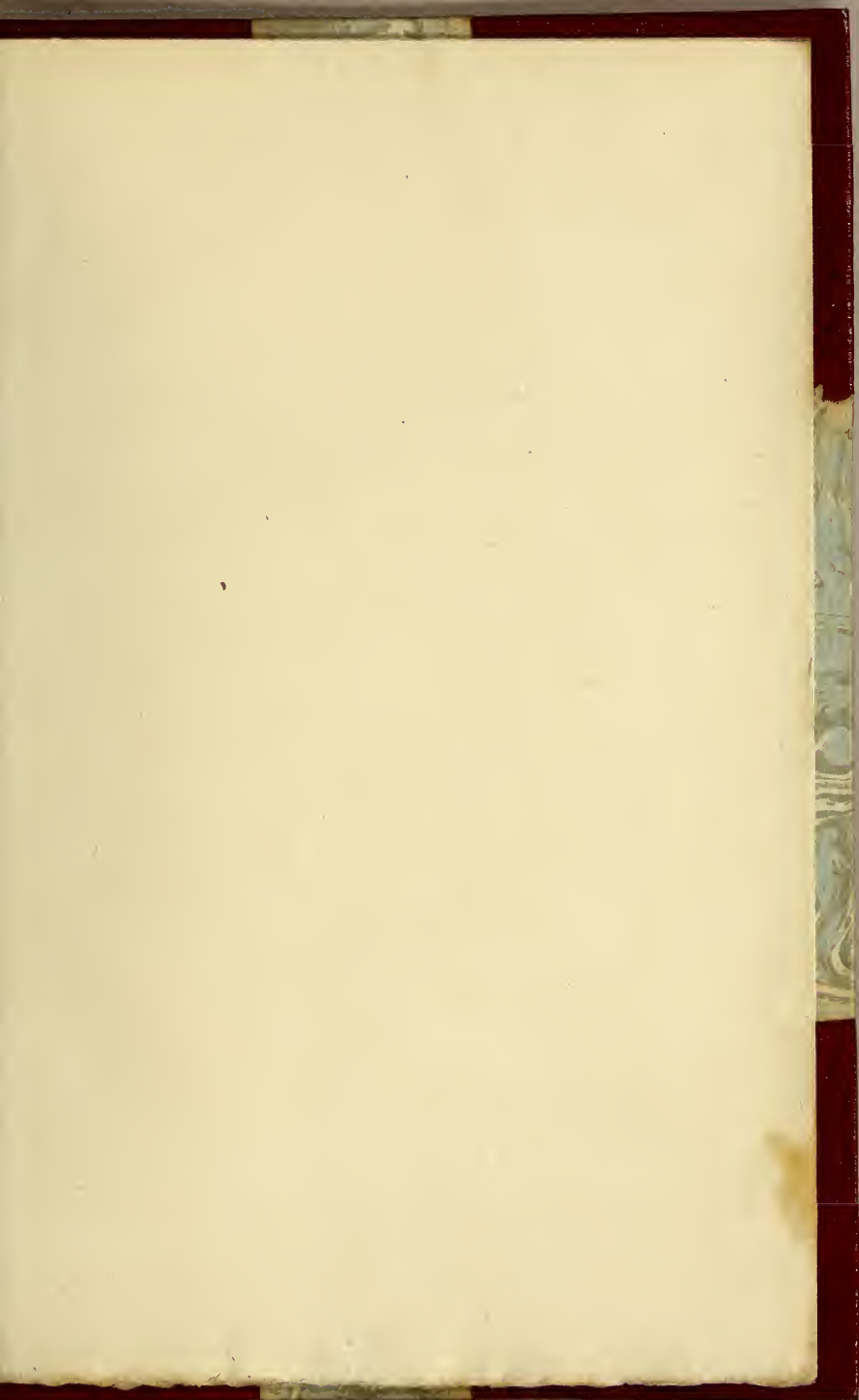
The first part of the history of the United States is a very interesting and valuable work. It contains a full and complete account of the early years of the nation, from the first settlement of the colonies to the establishment of the Constitution. The author has done his best to give a true and impartial account of the events of that period, and his work is highly recommended to all who are interested in the history of our country.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

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